

INTERFAITH MARRIAGE IN AN URBAN AREA

by

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To Betty and Linda

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION, HYPOTHESES, AND METHODOLOGY	1
II. THE SAMPLES	14
III. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF INTERMARRIAGE	19
IV. THE DATA RELEVANT TO THE TEST OF BASIC HYPOTHESIS I.	41
V. INTERPRETATION OF PREMARITAL DATA	113
VI. THE MATCHED SAMPLES	123
VII. THE DATA RELEVANT TO THE TEST OF BASIC HYPOTHESES II AND III.	134
VIII. INTERPRETATION OF POSTMARITAL DATA AND CONCLUSION.	193
APPENDIX ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FERTILITY	205
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	215

CHAPTER I

Introduction, Hypotheses, and Methodology

The literature of sociology contains many studies which involve comparisons of interfaith and intrafaith marriages. Though the present study also makes such comparisons, it differs from previous research in a number of ways. The most important innovation is the comparison, on postmarital variables, of intermarriages and intramarriages which are matched on premarital variables. The importance of this procedure will be discussed below.

Many of the variables to be considered have previously been investigated in research on interfaith marriage. Several factors that have received little attention in the past are also included, however. Finally, this is only the second research on this topic to make use of a sample which is representative of a clearly defined geographic area.

For the purposes of this study an interfaith marriage is defined as follows: An interfaith marriage is one in which the parties grew up in different religions. A difference in religion is considered to exist when a major religious dividing line is crossed; i.e., when the marriage involves two of the following religions : Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Eastern or Greek Orthodox.

The Present Study

The main hypothesis of this study is that the "results" of interfaith marriages are the same as the "results" of intrafaith marriages, if there is adequate control of premarital factors that differentiate between the two groups. If premarital factors are not controlled it would be expected that the marriage types (interfaith marriages in contrast to intrafaith marriages)

would show differences on postmarital or "result" variables. If the hypotheses are supported, the indication is that marriage type is of little importance in determining marital outcome, but premarital variables are of relevance.

In line with this discussion we pose the following questions:

1. Are the premarital characteristics of the intermarried different from those of the intramarried?
2. Are the results of interfaith marriages different from the results of intrafaith marriages?
3. Are the results of interfaith marriages different from the results of comparable¹ intrafaith marriages?

The answers to these questions comprise our three basic hypotheses:²

- I. People who intermarry differ from people who intramarry on premarital variables that may be relevant for marital outcome.
- II. Interfaith marriages differ from intrafaith marriages on postmarital variables.
- III. Comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages do not differ on postmarital variables.

Below will be found some subsidiary hypotheses and the specific hypotheses which will be tested directly.

¹By comparable marriages we mean marriages matched on premarital factors.

²Though not stated, the predictions made in all hypotheses are thought to be true for each religious group as well as for total groups. This point is discussed on page 12.

From Basic Hypothesis I: People who intermarry differ from people who intramarry on premarital variables that may be relevant for marital outcome.

The key to the difference between people who intermarry and those who do not is found, we believe, in an investigation of relations with significant others. These relationships are the source of the attitudes which lead some people to oppose interfaith marriage and also the source of the external pressures that prevent many intermarriages.³ Our first subsidiary hypothesis⁴ relates to the association between early relations with religion and intermarriage.

Subsidiary Hypothesis A: The probability of intermarriage is greater among those who had little tie to religion when they were young than it is among those who had a strong early tie to religion.

As an index of the strength of the early tie to religion we will use information regarding the attitudes and practices of the respondent's parents. Religious parents do not ensure a tie to religion, but secular parents probably ensure the lack of a tie. As we are interested in the latter situation, the data we have seem to be adequate. The following specific, i.e., directly testable, hypotheses will provide support for Subsidiary Hypothesis A if they are validated:

1. The percentage of the intermarried respondents who report religion

³The interpretation of our premarital data will involve an attempt to isolate the factors acting as barriers to intermarriage. A more complete description of the method will be found in Chapter V. The specifics will not be discussed until our data have been presented, for the theory was not developed until after the data were analyzed.

⁴A subsidiary hypothesis is more specific than a basic hypothesis, but it is not directly testable.

had no importance to their parents is significantly greater than the percentage of the intramarried who so respond.

2. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried than of the intramarried report that their parents never attended church.

3. The percentage of the intermarried who report that their parents never attended church and that religion had no importance to their parents is significantly greater than the percentage of intramarried respondents who so respond. These two responses are the operational definition of a "secular background."

4. The percentage of intermarried respondents who attended a parochial school is significantly less than the percentage of intramarried respondents who attended.⁵

Our next concern is the relationship between the respondents when young and their families. In this area we will formulate several subsidiary hypotheses and many directly testable hypotheses. In general, they indicate our belief that those who intermarry are more likely to have had relationships with their parents which were dissatisfying. The reasoning behind these hypotheses will be discussed in Chapter V.

Subsidiary Hypothesis B: Those whose early relationships with their parents were dissatisfying are more likely to contract interfaith marriages than are those who were not dissatisfied with their relations with their parents.

⁵ If the hypotheses presented above are supported, all cases from secular backgrounds will be excluded from our further discussion of Basic Hypothesis I. It does not seem appropriate to keep them in this part of the study. The subsidiary hypotheses which follow deal with factors that have a different meaning for those who come from a secular background than they do for those whose families had an interest in religion.

The following directly testable hypotheses, if supported by the data, will indicate the validity of Subsidiary Hypothesis B:

1. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents than of the intramarried group report that they felt dissatisfied with their parents during youth. Dissatisfaction with parents is to be measured by an index to be described later.
2. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "parents were behind the times".
3. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "home is a place where people get in each other's way".
4. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "parents want me to do things better than other children".
5. A significantly smaller percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "happy only when at home".
6. A significantly smaller percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "my parents are always proud of their children".
7. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "mother does not understand me".
8. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "father spends too little time with me".
9. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "father wants to run his children's lives".
10. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "mother wants to run her children's lives".
11. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "parents do not practice what they preach".

Subsidiary Hypothesis C: Those whose early family life was strife-ful

are more likely to intermarry than are those who came from families in which the interaction was fairly smooth.

If the following specific hypotheses are supported by the data the validity of Subsidiary Hypothesis C will be indicated:

1. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents than of the intramarried report a high degree of intrafamilial conflict. Familial conflict is measured by an instrument to be described later.
2. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents report disagreements with their parents over religion during adolescence.
3. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report general disagreement with their parents during adolescence.
4. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents report that their parents quarreled frequently.
5. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that there was divorce, separation, or desertion in their family of orientation.

Subsidiary Hypothesis D: The intermarried respondents are more likely to have had only tenuous ties to their immediate and extended families in their early years.

If the following hypotheses are supported by the data the validity of Subsidiary Hypothesis D will be indicated:

1. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents report low family integration during their early years. Integration is measured by an instrument to be described below.
2. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents report that they did not live with both their real parents up until

the age of sixteen.

4. A significantly smaller percentage of the intermarried respondents report that there were relatives other than their parents and siblings living with them.

5. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they saw none of their relatives fairly often.

6. The number of relatives the intermarried saw fairly often during their early years is significantly lower than the number seen by the intramarried.

7. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they were brought up in an institution.

Subsidiary Hypothesis E: The parents of the intermarried respondents are more likely to had a "difficult time" than are the parents of the intramarried.

The test of this hypothesis will rest upon the data gathered to evaluate the following specific hypotheses:

1. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that their parents were in poor health.

2. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that their parents had a hard time "making ends meet".

3. A significantly greater percentage of the intermarried report that their parents had problems.

4. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that their parents were the "worrying type".

Subsidiary Hypothesis F: The intermarried respondents are more likely to have been emancipated from parental influence at time of marriage than

are the intramarried.

Support for the following hypotheses will be taken as evidence of the validity of this subsidiary hypothesis:

1. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried married, for the first time, at a late age.
2. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried have been married previously.

In addition to the hypotheses presented above, we will test three other specific hypotheses. These are concerned with childhood relationships, but they are not subsumable under any of the subsidiary hypotheses that have been presented.

1. The intermarried report more fears during childhood than do the intramarried.
2. A significantly greater percentage of the intermarried report that they disliked school.
3. A significantly greater percentage of the intermarried report that they dated less frequently than other teen-agers.

Finally, we shall compare the distribution of the various birth order positions in the marriage type groups. No hypothesis is ventured as to the results of this comparison.

The variables so far considered are viewed as "molecular" factors; i.e., variables in which the respondent is considered as an individual or as a member of a specific family. We also have available a series of social category or "molar" variables.

The important difference between these variables lies in their

relationship to the process of explanation. The relevance of the molecular variables for the subsidiary hypotheses is clear-cut. The molar variables are also thought to be relevant to the subsidiary hypotheses, but the relationship is an indirect one. We believe that any differences in intermarriage rates in the various categories of the molar variables are due to the differential distribution of the molecular factors. If this is the case, the subsidiary hypotheses gain indirect support.

We do not know, however, the ways in which the molecular variables are distributed in the various classes of the molar factors. Of perhaps greater importance is the fact that we do not as yet know which of the molecular factors are associated with intermarriage. We shall, therefore, not attempt to formulate hypotheses for the social category factors. We shall view our study of them as exploratory. After we have studied the molar factors we will attempt to determine whether we can "make sense" of the data in terms of differences on the molecular factors. The molar variables to be considered are religion, father's education, father's socio-economic status, respondent's education, educational mobility, rural-urban childhood, generation, ethnicity, and sex.

From Basic Hypothesis II: Interfaith marriages differ from intrafaith marriages on postmarital variables.

It is our belief that the intermarried respondents differ significantly from the intramarried on a variety of factors that are operant after marriage. The areas to be investigated, and the direction of the expected dif-

⁶ For example, should two social classes differ in intermarriage rate we believe the explanation will be found in differences between these classes on variables such as religiosity of parents, tie to parents, etc.

ferences, are indicated by the subsidiary and specific hypotheses below.

Subsidiary Hypothesis A: The intermarried group shows lesser adjustment and greater dissatisfaction than does the intramarried group.

The following subsidiary hypotheses will test the validity of Subsidiary Hypothesis A:

1. The intermarried respondents report significantly greater general dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction is measured by an instrument to be described below.
2. The intramarried respondents report significantly less worry about their marriages.
3. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents agree with the statement, "The unmarried can be just as content as the married".
4. The mental health ratings of the intermarried are significantly poorer than are the ratings of the intramarried.

Subsidiary Hypothesis B: The intermarried respondents have fewer children than the intramarried and different relationships with them.

Subsidiary Hypothesis B will be evaluated by testing the following specific hypotheses:

1. The intermarried respondents have significantly fewer children than the intramarried respondents.
2. The intermarried who had children are more dissatisfied than the intermarried who did not have children. Intramarried respondents who had children are not more dissatisfied than intramarried respondents who did not have children.

3. The intermarried respondents report significantly more problems with their children than do the intramarried respondents.

Subsidiary Hypothesis C: The interpersonal relationships of the intermarried differ from those of the intramarried.

Subsidiary Hypothesis C will be tested by the data relevant to the following specific hypotheses:

1. The intermarried respondents report that they see significantly fewer of their relatives.

2. The intermarried respondents report that they have significantly fewer close friends.

3. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they want more friends.

4. The intermarried report significantly greater suspiciousness. Suspiciousness is measured by an instrument to be described below.

Subsidiary Hypothesis D: The tie to religion of the intermarried respondents is less than is the tie of the intramarried respondents.

The following specific hypotheses will test the validity of Subsidiary Hypothesis D:

1. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents report that religion has no importance to them.

2. A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they never attend church.

From Basic Hypothesis III: Comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages do not differ on postmarital variables.

The test of Basic Hypothesis III closely parallels the test of Basic Hypothesis II. In this instance, however, groups which are matched on premarital variables but differ on marriage type will be compared. We shall not repeat the subsidiary and specific hypotheses. For the test of our third basic hypothesis the wording of the previous hypotheses need only be changed slightly so that they read, "Comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages do not differ in their report of"

As stated, all of the hypotheses imply that we will compare total groups of intermarried respondents with total groups of intramarried respondents. The reader will find, however, that the tables in Chapter IV and VII also present data with religion controlled. The original design did not include plans for controlling by religion, but as the study progressed it was discovered that in some instances the trends were different in the various religious groups. It was decided, therefore, to control religion in all cases.

We have, however, not changed the original form of our hypotheses. If the reader inserts the words, "in all religions and in the total group", before each hypothesis our meaning will be clear. We are predicting that the relationship hypothesized will be observed in each religious group. In order for our hypotheses to receive complete support, all religions must show significant differences in the predicted direction. If they do not, we can claim, at best, only partial support.

Methodology

The test of the first basic hypothesis requires no discussion; it involves simple comparisons between intermarriage and intramarriage groups on a variety of premarital factors. The second and third basic hypotheses also

are tested by comparisons of marriage type groups. In this instance the variables to be considered are postmarital factors.

For Hypothesis II the groups are unmatched, for Hypothesis III they are matched on premarital factors. We hope, thereby, to isolate the effect, if any, of marriage type. If there are no differences between the matched groups we may conclude that marriage type does not affect outcome. If differences are found in the comparison of unmatched groups, but not in the comparison of matched samples, the differences may be attributed to premarital factors.

An ambiguous situation would occur if there were differences between matched groups. In this case it appears likely that marriage type has an effect upon postmarital factors. It is possible, however, that the differences may be due to errors in the matching or to uncontrolled premarital factors. The former source of ambiguity will be removed by the use of perfectly matched cases, but the latter cannot be eliminated. We do not feel that these uncontrolled variables will affect the results very greatly, but it should be noted that our data cannot prove that marriage type affects outcome. They can only indicate that it is likely that marriage type is of relevance.⁷

We turn now to a fuller consideration of the study and its findings.

⁷Unanticipated findings indicate that this discussion is not complete. In addition to those discussed, several other combinations of support and non-support of Basic Hypotheses II and III were observed. They are described and analyzed in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II

The Samples

As this dissertation is based entirely upon data collected by the Midtown Mental Health Project a consideration of that study is necessary. Our description is intended to give the reader an idea of the relevant facts concerning that research. Further details are available in the publications of the Project.¹

The Midtown Project represents a pioneer attempt to study the mental health of the general population, aged 20-60, of a section of a large city. A geographically defined "health area" of New York City was chosen as the area to be investigated, and a questionnaire was administered to a representative sample of 1660 persons living in the neighborhood. Details of the sampling will be presented below.

The purposes of the study were several. The first aim was to enumerate the incidence of mental disturbance in the area. Thus, many items relating to the respondent's present life situation were recorded. Many of these factors have proven of use in the present research.

In addition to this general enumeration, the investigators were concerned with the differential mental health of various social categories. This interest provided us with the information needed to classify our respondents as intramarried or intermarried. These materials also provided some of the postmarital variables considered. Finally, there was an attempt

¹Thomas A.C. Rennie, Leo Srole, Thomas S. Langner, Studies in Urban Mental Health, Vol.1, Epidemiology (In Preparation)

to relate mental health to a variety of possibly causal variables. It is from this interest that we obtained almost all our premarital factors.

As might be expected, the use of data collected for a different purpose involves some disadvantages. Our information is "thin" in spots because the questionnaire used by the Midtown Project did not include the necessary questions. In general, however, the advantages greatly outweigh the disadvantages. It would not have been possible for a single investigator to carry out a study of this scope.

We now turn to a consideration of the sampling procedure. The health area chosen does not contain a population that is representative of New York as a whole. It is doubtful if there is any area that completely represents the city. The Midtown area does include, however, representatives of almost all social categories to be found in New York. Perhaps the sole exception is the Negro group; they are almost completely absent from the area. Our findings should, therefore, be limited to Caucasians. Such a limitation appears to be justified in a study of inter-faith marriage.

The question still remains, how representative of the area is the sample? The sampling design involved choosing a series of random samples. Census tracts, blocks, houses, dwelling units, and persons within dwelling units were all chosen by the use of a table of random numbers. A procedure such as this involves possible sources of bias, but attempts were made to correct for these potential biases. The sample, as chosen, is probably representative of the area.

Even if a representative sample is chosen, the final sample may be

biased by people refusing to answer. Great efforts were made to avoid this source of error. Despite these efforts 251 of those chosen, about 13 percent of the sample, could not be persuaded to cooperate. The evidence indicates, for a limited number of characteristics, that those who did not answer do not differ from those who did.² A check of the final sample against census figures revealed that the sample was representative of the area on factors such as education, age, sex, and nativity.³ We must conclude that the sample is a sound one.

We now turn to a consideration of the sample actually used in our research.

The Present Sample

All of the cases of the Midtown study were originally eligible for inclusion in the test of the first basic hypothesis. Those who had never been married were removed at the outset. This group numbered 438 cases.

The remaining 1222 respondents were to be divided into marriage type groups on the basis of their responses to two questions. These are: "Now as to yourself - What religious faith did you grow up in?" And, "What religious faith did your husband (wife) grow up in?" A large majority of the cases were easily classifiable in terms of the definition of interfaith marriage which was presented previously.

For 128 of the cases the answers were ambiguous. Included in this group were respondents who had given no answer or had responded "other"

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

or "none". By consulting the original questionnaire, which included the respondents' uncoded comments, it was possible to classify many of them. Responses to other questions helped, in some instances, in making the decision. Fifty-five of these cases could not be classified, however. They had to be removed from the study. We do not believe that exclusion of these cases introduced bias into the sample.

The final sample of 1167 cases shows the following distribution by religion:

TABLE II-1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION OF MARRIAGES IN THE SAMPLE FOR THE TEST OF BASIC HYPOTHESIS I: PEOPLE WHO INTERMARRY DIFFER FROM PEOPLE WHO INTRAMARRY ON VARIABLES THAT MAY BE RELEVANT FOR MARITAL OUTCOME.

Respondent's Religion	Spouse's Religion									
	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		E.O.-Oth.		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Catholic	469	78.6	107	17.9	14	2.3	7	1.2	597	100.0
Protestant	110	28.3	257	66.1	18	4.6	4	1.2	389	100.2
Jewish	14	8.9	15	9.5	129	81.6	0	0.0	158	100.0
E.O. or Other	11	47.8	3	13.0	1	4.3	8	34.8	23	99.9
Total	604	51.8	382	32.7	162	13.9	19	1.6	1167	100.0

Let us note some of the more interesting facts presented in this table. We see that Catholics and Jews are about equally likely to intermarry. About a third of the Protestants intermarried, however, in contrast to 20 percent in the two other groups. When Catholics and Protestants intermarry they are likely to marry other Christians; intermarriages with

Jews are fairly infrequent. Jews who intermarry are as likely to marry Catholics as Protestants.

To summarize: Of the original 1660 respondents in the Midtown sample, 438 were eliminated because they were never married. Another fifty-five cases were removed from the study because they could not be classified as interfaith or intrafaith marriage. This left 1167 respondents; 863 of them had intramarried and 304 had intermarried.

CHAPTER III

Previous Studies of Interfaith Marriage

This chapter contains a summary of the objective studies of interfaith marriage which preceded our research. The discussion is divided into two main parts; premarital and postmarital variables. Within each of these main divisions the presentation is subdivided into topics similar to those considered in the present study.

I. Premarital Variables

A. Empirical Findings

1. Incidence of Interfaith Marriage.

The literature of sociology contains many studies which present data on the incidence of interfaith marriage. The most striking feature of these materials is the great variation in intermarriage rates which have been observed. Milton Barron has devoted a large part of his book¹ to a review of these studies. It does not seem economical, therefore, to deal with them individually. On the basis of the findings presented by Barron the following conclusions seem justified:

1) Many studies show an increase in interfaith marriage during the last few decades. The results of other studies indicate, however, that it is incorrect to conclude that these marriages are increasing everywhere.²

¹Milton L. Barron, People Who Intermarry - Intermarriage in a New England Industrial Community, (Syracuse:Syracuse University Press, 1946).

²Ibid., p. 159.

2) Between countries and within countries there is great variation in the rates of interfaith marriage. For example, in Lafayette, Louisiana in 1929, 6.32 percent of the marriages involving a Catholic were between a Catholic and a non-Catholic. In Portland, Oregon in the same year the comparable percentage was 47.54.³ Jewish intermarriages were .39 percent of the marriages involving Jews in Lithuania in 1931,⁴ and 51.00 percent in Germany in 1915.

3) In this country Protestants and Catholics tend to choose each other when they intermarry. The studies disagree as to whether Jews who intermarry are more likely to marry Protestants or Catholics.⁵

4) All studies indicate that interfaith marriages are less frequent than would be expected on the basis of an hypothesis that chance alone determines the religious composition of couples.⁶

5) In a heterogeneous population, interfaith marriages are more frequent than interracial marriages but less frequent than interethnic marriages.⁷

6) Factors such as absolute size of the group, relative size, religio-cultural proximity, sex ratios, residential propinquity, etc., have proven of value in the explanation of variations in interfaith marriage rates.⁸

³ Ibid., pp. 166-167.

⁵ Ibid., p. 248 et passim.

⁷ Ibid., p. 158.

⁴ Ibid., p. 177.

⁶ Ibid., passim.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 317-323.

2. Religiosity and Interfaith Marriage.

There are no data on the religiosity, prior to marriage, of persons who intermarry. Some investigators have, however, used indirect indices of religiosity such as parochial school attendance.

The study conducted by Brother Gerald Schnepf delved most deeply into the question of the relationship between Catholic parochial education and intermarriage. His data indicate a tendency for a religious education to be associated with intrafaith marriage.⁹ Coakley's data lead to the same conclusion.¹⁰

We may go into Schnepf's findings a little more deeply and find some rather interesting results. The table on the following page is based upon information provided by him.¹¹

The table indicates that if the education was a religious one the level attained is not important. Degree of education is of some relevance, however, if the education was secular. Those who were educated in state schools and went beyond grammar school have a somewhat lower intermarriage rate than those who did not go to high school.

⁹Gerald J. Schnepf, Leakage from a Catholic Parish, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1942), p.109.

¹⁰Thomas Coakley, "Catholic Leakage - A Factual Study," Catholic World, CLIV (1942), 420.

¹¹Adapted from Schnepf, op. cit., Table 47, p.360. Schnepf's table has a column marked invalid marriage which includes both intermarriages and intramarriages. He indicates that approximately three-fourths of them are "mixed marriages". Therefore, three-fourths of them are included among the intermarriages and one-fourth among the intramarriages.

TABLE III-1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGE TYPES CONTROLLED BY RELIGIOUS OR STATE SCHOOL AND LEVEL ATTAINED.

Education	<u>Inter</u> %	<u>Intra</u> %	<u>Total</u> N = 100%
Religious, Grammar School Only	34.6	65.4	535
Religious, High School or More	32.9	67.1	82
State, Grammar School Only	48.7	51.3	267
State, High School or More	41.0	59.0	39
Mixed	43.5	56.5	108
Total	39.3	60.7	1031

3. Education, Socio-economic Status, and Inter-marriage

The effect of education alone may be seen more clearly in the following table which is also taken from data presented by Schnepf.¹²

TABLE III-2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGE TYPES CONTROLLED BY EDUCATION

Education	<u>Inter</u> %	<u>Intra</u> %	<u>Total</u> N = 100%
Grammar School Only	39.8	60.2	888
High School or More	33.5	66.5	143
Total	39.3	60.7	1031

¹²Ibid., Based upon Table 47, p. 360, Table 3, p. 108, and pp. 107-109. The invalid marriages are apportioned among the inter and intramarriages in the ratio of three to one.

The table seems to show that there is an inverse relationship between education and intermarriage rate among Catholics. It should be noted, however, that very few of the respondents in the upper education group had gone to college. The indication is that high school educated Catholics have lower intermarriage rates than do Catholics who have not attended high school. Georges Delcuve, in his summary of studies of Catholic intermarriage in various countries, also concludes that interfaith marriages are frequent among the less educated.¹³

John Thomas, using place of residence as his index of social class, obtained results which show that the upper-class Catholic is most likely to intermarry. The intermarriage rates of the areas increase consistently with increasing rental.¹⁴ As this study most adequately sampled the upper-class groups, it probably gives the best indication of the class distribution of Catholic interfaith marriages. There are no adequate data on the class distribution of interfaith marriages in other religious groups.

4. Ethnicity, Generation, and Interfaith Marriage

The interfaith marriage rates of native-born Americans appear to be considerably greater than the rates of the foreign-born. Elmer mentions a rate that is three times greater in the second generation than it is

¹³Georges Delcuve, "Interfaith Marriage and Religious Life," Lumen Vitae, IV (1949), 489-492.

¹⁴John L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," American Sociological Review, XVI (1951), 490-491.

in the first.¹⁵ The difference discovered by Marcson in his study of Jews is even greater.¹⁶

Several studies indicate that there is variation in the interfaith marriage rates of different ethnic groups. Thomas found that 30.0 percent of the German Catholics he studied had intermarried. This figure is in contrast to the 10 percent intermarriage rate that was typical for the other Catholic ethnic groups.¹⁷ In almost half of his cases of Jewish intermarriage Koenig found that the non-Jewish spouse was of Italian extraction.¹⁸ The data, in general, indicate that there is an association between ethnicity and interfaith marriage rate. Not enough has been done, however, to allow us to specify the nature of the relationship.

5. Previous Marriage and Interfaith Marriage

Bossard and Letts report on a study of Lutherans which found that first marriages are more likely to be interfaith marriages than are second marriages.¹⁹

¹⁵ M.C. Elmer, The Sociology of the Family, (Boston: Ginn and Company, (1945), p. 195.

¹⁶ Simon Marcson, "Intermarriage and Generational Status," Phylon, 4th Quarter (1951).

¹⁷ Thomas, op.cit., p. 51.

¹⁸ Samuel Koenig, "The Socio-Economic Structure of an American Jewish Community," in Isaque Graeber and Steuart H. Britt, eds., Jews in a Gentile World, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1942), pp. 237, 238.

¹⁹ James H.S. Bossard and Harold C. Letts, "Mixed Marriages Involving Lutherans," Marriage and Family Living, XVIII (1956), 308.

6. Sex and Intermarriage.

Several of the studies of interfaith marriage have presented data which indicate that in one religion one sex is more likely to intermarry, and in another the other sex more frequently engages in intermarriage.

Among the Jews it appears that it is the male who is more likely to intermarry. Koenig reports that in two-thirds of his cases the Jewish partner was the husband.²⁰ Silcox and Fisher found comparable results in their study of Canadian interfaith marriages.²¹ Though his findings support those of the other researchers in general, Bloom adds this qualification, "In the higher income brackets and among the Reformed Jews the number of Jewish women participating in mixed marriages becomes more important."²²

The situation is quite the contrary among Catholics. In general, as reported by Silcox and Fisher,²³ and Coakley,²⁴ female Catholics are more likely to intermarry than are Catholic males. That the relationship between sex and intermarriage is not a simple one is indicated by the findings of Traynor. He discovered that it is only in urban areas that Catholic females have higher intermarriage rates. In the rural areas

²⁰Koenig, op.cit., p. 235.

²¹Clariss E. Silcox and Galen M. Fisher, Catholics, Jews and Protestants, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1934), p. 266.

²²Leonard Bloom, "The Jews of Buna," in Graeber and Britt, op.cit., p. 190.

²³Silcox and Fisher, op.cit., p. 255.

²⁴Coakley, op.cit., p. 421.

studied, men and women were equally likely to intermarry.²⁵

An interesting interaction is revealed in the following table adapted from Schnepf's materials.²⁶

TABLE III-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGE TYPES CONTROLLED BY RELIGIOUS OR SECULAR EDUCATION AND SEX

Education	<u>Inter</u>	<u>Intra</u>	<u>Total</u>
	%	%	N = 100%
Religious Education			
Male	31	69	262
Female	36	64	355
Secular Education			
Male	41	59	139
Female	54	46	167
Mixed Education			
Male	41	59	49
Female	45	55	59
Total	39.3	60.7	1031

In all cases the intermarriage rates of the females are higher

²⁵ Victor J. Traynor, "Urban and Rural Mixed Marriage." Social Order, VI (1956), 155.

²⁶ From Schnepf, *op.cit.*, Table 4, p.109 and Table 47, p. 360. Invalid marriages are apportioned among the intermarriages and intra-marriages in the ratio of three to one..

than the rates for men. This table does not, therefore, contradict the basic trend that has been observed. Only in the secular education group is the difference large, however. In the other groups females are not much more likely to intermarry than are males.

7. Family of Orientation and Interfaith Marriage.

Schnepp's study of an Eastern Seaboard parish indicates that Catholics from broken homes are more likely to intermarry than are those from intact families. The difference is not large, however.²⁷

This same study investigated the relationship between the intermarriage of parents and the intermarriage of their offspring. If both parents were Catholic the intermarriage rate was 16 percent lower than it was if one parent was non-Catholic.²⁸ Coakley discovered that about one-fourth of his intermarried Catholic respondents also had siblings who were intermarried.²⁹ This is taken as evidence that interfaith marriages tend "to run in families".

This concludes our discussion of the empirical data on the relationship between premarital variables and interfaith marriage. Before turning to other matters a brief summary will be presented.

Much of the available material refers to Catholics. It has been found that the chances of a Catholic intermarrying are relatively high if he: a) attended a public school, b) lived in a high rental area, c) is of

²⁷Ibid., p. 116.

²⁸Ibid., p. 113.

²⁹Coakley, op.cit., p.420.

German extraction, d) came from a broken home, e) had parents who were intermarried, f) had siblings who were intermarried. In addition, the data indicate that female Catholics are more likely to intermarry than are males.

Of Jews who intermarry it may be said that they are more likely to be natives of this country than foreign born, and they are more likely to be males than females. All that may be said of intermarried Protestants is that if they are Lutheran they are more likely to intermarry in a first marriage than in a later marriage.

We shall now turn to a consideration of the theoretical discussions of interfaith marriage that are to be found in the literature.

B. Theoretical Discussions

At the beginning of this chapter we listed some of the factors that have been used to explain gross variations in interfaith marriage rates. We now turn to a consideration of the discussions of interfaith marriage which make use of social-psychological variables. Several authors have attempted to specify the social types which are inclined toward interfaith marriage. The two pioneer studies of this kind set as their task the explanation of the intermarriage of Jews.

The first of these researches appeared in 1933. Reuben Resnick, the author, posits four types that are inclined to intermarriage. These are: a) the rebellious person who feels he is helping a cause in some way by his intermarriage, b) the detached person who has broken away from his primary group ties, c) the emancipated person who is free of religious ties,

d) the adventurous person who is seeking new experience and to whom the identity of the spouse is of little importance. Resnick points out that these are not pure types; each shares some of the characteristics of the others.³⁰

Several years later J.S. Slotkin attempted to use these types to explain the cases of intermarriage that he studied in Chicago. Resnick's categories did not, however, allow Slotkin to classify all his respondents. In the attempt to explain the intermarriage of all his cases he added four other types. They are as follows: a) the unorganized or demoralized person who expresses his general lack of conformity by intermarriage, b) the promiscuous person who seeks his partners outside of his own religion but later develops an attachment for, and marries, one of them, c) the marginal person who is only nominally a Jew and marries outside his faith to gain full acceptance for himself or his children in the larger society, d) the acculturated person who has taken on Gentile standards and can find no one in the Jewish group who meets these standards.³¹

Robert O. Blood has presented a formulation that is somewhat similar to those discussed. However, he first makes the very important distinction between "genuine intermarriages" and "pseudo-mixed marriages". A genuine intermarriage exists only when, "each partner retains his identification with his separate group... each holds differing beliefs

³⁰ Reuben R. Resnick, "Some Sociological Aspects of Intermarriages of Jews and Non-Jews," Social Forces, XII (1933), 94-102.

³¹ J.S. Slotkin, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Chicago," American Sociological Review, VII (1942), 34-39.

and values and follows different ways of life".³² A pseudo-intramarriage involves people who are only nominally members of different groups. A pseudo-intermarriage, Blood says, does not require special explanation; it is not essentially different from an intramarriage. Genuine intermarriages do, however, involve unusual motivations.

Blood says that he believes that the individual who engages in true, or genuine, intermarriage sometimes marries difference for its own sake. In fact, he may be marrying a category as much as a person. When Blood speaks of the motivation behind such action he approaches the formulations of Resnick and Slotkin. The first such motivation is rebellion. A second motive is social reform; marriage is seen as a contribution to the fight against discrimination. Romance is a third motive. The belief that opposites attract leads to the alliance in this case. The desire for personal gain is seen to be the final reason for marrying difference for its own sake. An example of this may be seen in the desire to be assimilated in order to avoid discrimination.

Not all genuine intermarriages are of this type, however; they do not always represent a desire to marry an individual because he is perceived to be an "outsider". In some instances the marriage takes place despite the differences. In such cases the person is loved for "his own sake". The marriage would have been even more likely to occur if the differences did not exist. Such marriages are likely to be homogamous in many respects.

³²Robert O. Blood Jr., Anticipating Your Marriage, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 39.

This concludes our consideration of the theoretical materials on selection in interfaith marriage. Though not very numerous, these analyses make some valuable conceptual contributions. Blood's concept of the pseudo-mixed marriage will, we believe, prove to be of particular importance. Researchers will now have to consider the heterogeneous nature of the interfaith marriage category. It may very well be that many marriages that are usually included in this group should be excluded.

The attempts to isolate types inclined to intermarriage are suggestive. However, they have not as yet received adequate empirical testing; and, therefore, it is difficult to evaluate their worth. The empirical work that has been done does indicate that the approach is likely to be a fruitful one. Those who intermarry do seem to differ from those who intramarry.

II. Postmarital Variables

A. Empirical Findings

We turn now to a consideration of a variety of investigations which have compared groups of intermarried and intramarried respondents on factors which are operant after marriage. As before, the variables to be considered are similar to those investigated in the present research.

1. Marital Adjustment and Interfaith Marriage.

Clifford Kirkpatrick discovered that 86.5 percent of the well adjusted couples in his sample were intramarried, and only 80 percent of the poorly adjusted marriages were intrafaith marriages. This difference proved to be too small to allow rejection of the null hypothesis,

however.³³

Burgess and Cottrell obtained similar results. They say, "Again, interestingly enough and contrary to popular opinion no differences of statistical importance appear when a comparison is made between marriages of persons of the same and of different religious beliefs."³⁴ They qualify this statement, however, with the assertion that the results might have been different if the marriages had continued for a longer period and resulted in more children.

Judson T. Landis expresses a belief similar to that of Burgess and Cottrell. He states, "If there are not children, the Catholic-Protestant marriage has few elements which would make marital adjustment difficult. It is the presence of children in the home which makes for marital conflict in the Catholic-Protestant marriage."³⁵

Robert O. Blood is of the opinion that a difference in background may have a positive effect. He states, "Although in some marriages the existence of diverse ritual constitutes a problem, in others it is taken as an opportunity for enrichment."³⁶

Ray Baber's data tell us nothing of the relative happiness of inter-

³³Clifford Kirkpatrick, "Factors in Marital Adjustment," American Journal of Sociology, XLIII (1937), 278.

³⁴Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard Cottrell, Predicting Success and Failure in Marriage, (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939), p. 87.

³⁵Judson T. Landis, "Marriages of Mixed and Non-Mixed Religious Faith," American Sociological Review, XIV (1949), 403.

³⁶Blood, op.cit., p. 42.

marriages and intramarriages, for he studied only intermarriages. His findings do show, however, that there is considerable variation in the happiness ratings of different kinds of interfaith marriage. Jewish-Protestant marriages, for example, have ratings which are somewhat higher than Jewish-Catholic and Protestant-Catholic marriages. In addition, there is substantial variation within these last two types depending upon the sex of the Catholic partner.³⁷

The following table, adapted from the study by Landis, sets forth the responses of a large sample of school children to a query regarding the degree to which religious differences had handicapped their parents' marriages.³⁸

TABLE III-4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTION CONCERNING DEGREE TO WHICH RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES HAD HANDICAPPED PARENTS' MARRIAGE; CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE. (P=PROTESTANT, C=CATHOLIC, FATHER IS LISTED FIRST)

Response	P-P	C-C	P-C	C-P
Not at All	85.7	87.4	59.2	45.2
Very Little	11.4	8.8	21.0	20.5
Somewhat	2.7	2.8	13.2	23.3
Great	.2	1.0	5.3	5.5
Very Great	0.0	0.0	1.3	5.5
N	721	103	90	102

³⁷ Ray E. Baber, "A Study of 325 Mixed Marriages." American Sociological Review, II (1937), 710-716.

³⁸ Landis, op.cit., p.405.

As would be expected, the children of intermarriages more frequently report that religion had handicapped their parents' marriage than do those from intermarriage families. Perhaps more noteworthy is the fact that marriages in which the father is Catholic are more handicapped than marriages in which the Catholic partner is the mother. About 9 percent of the intermarriages seem to have been seriously handicapped by religious differences.

Murray Leiffer is quoted as asserting the following, on the basis of his study of 743 marriages in a "middle class, densely occupied, community in a large American City":

"Divergent religious attachments, if they are taken seriously, generally constitute a basis of conflict, especially after the advent of children. Only a few instances of homes broken because of religious diversity were discovered through this study, but in numerous families the tension continued to be acute, even after twenty years of marriage."³⁹

Similar sentiments are to be found in this statement by Ruth Cavan:

"It is difficult for either partner to foresee the feelings of frustration that they will have if they are unable to carry out religious rituals in the home or to have prescribed foods because of the disbelief or lack of cooperation of the partner of the other faith. Few young people are so thoroughly independent of their parents and relatives that their disapproval will not mar the marriage relationship."⁴⁰

Both of these authors seem to imply that difficulties arise mainly when religious beliefs are important to one or both of the partners.

³⁹

"Interfaith Marriage," Time, LIII (January 31, 1949), 64.

⁴⁰

Ruth S. Cavan, The American Family, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1953), p. 252.

Baber, on the other hand, reports that arguments over religion are as frequent among intermarried couples who do not feel religion is important as they are in cases in which religion has considerable meaning to the parties.⁴¹

The available data do not allow for a definite conclusion in regard to the relative adjustment of intermarriages in comparison with intramarriages. In the early years of marriage, at least, there do not appear to be significant differences in the adjustment of these two groups. Several investigators have hypothesized that the later years of marriage might show a difference, however.

2. Fertility and Interfaith Marriage.

Comparisons of intermarriages and intramarriages in regard to their fertility are available in considerable numbers. Rather than give the findings in detail we will present the following three statements in summary:

1) Several European studies indicate that intermarriages involving Catholics result in fewer children than do Catholic intramarriages.⁴² Two American researches, on the other hand, found only small differences in fertility between these groups.⁴³

⁴¹Baber, op.cit., p. 711.

⁴²Francis J. Connell, "Mixed Marriage: A Recent Study," Ecclesiastical Review, LXXXV, (1931), 47. Jacques David, Mariages Mixtes et Mariages Religieusement Homogenes en Suisse, Lumen Vitae, IV (1949), 471.

⁴³Coakley, op.cit., p. 422. Schnepf, op.cit., p. 361.

2) A study by Landis, and the Milbank study, discovered that Protestant and Catholic intramarriages result in more children than do Protestant-Catholic marriages. The difference between the intermarriages and the Protestant intramarriages was not very large, however. Landis found Jewish intramarried couples had rates as low as the Protestant-Catholic groups. In the Milbank study the intramarried Jews had rates even lower than Protestant-Catholic unions.⁴⁴

3) The introduction of additional variables reveals interactions in the statistical sense of that word. For example, the Indianapolis researchers found that the differences between the marriage type groups were small in cases in which the wife was under thirty. They were considerably larger when the wife was over this age.⁴⁵ Controlling by social class also reveals interactions. It is in the lower classes that the differences between the marriage groups are greatest.⁴⁶

3. Relatives, Friends, and Interfaith Marriage.

There is little material on the relationships of the intermarried with their relatives. Koenig discovered that the parents did not give their

⁴⁴Landis, *op.cit.*, p. 404. P.K. Whelpton and C.V. Kiser, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, 1. Differential Fertility Among 41,498 Native-White Couples in Indianapolis," in P.K. Whelpton and C.V. Kiser, eds., Social Factors Affecting Fertility, Vol. I, The Household Survey in Indianapolis, (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1950), 269.

⁴⁵C.V. Kiser and P.K. Whelpton, "Variations in the Size of Completed Families of 6,551 Native-White Couples in Indianapolis," in P.K. Whelpton and C.V. Kiser, eds., *op.cit.*, p. 69.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 18, 21, 29.

consent or attend the wedding in three-fourths of the intermarriages involving a Jew that he studied.⁴⁷ Slotkin found, however, that only 20 percent of the intermarried Jews in his sample were not accepted by their parents after the marriage. Fifty-seven percent of the couples were partially or wholly accepted by both families.⁴⁸

Only Slotkin investigated the friendships of the intermarried. He states that intermarried Jews report the loss of some friends. Close friends seem to be kept, however.

4. Religiosity and Interfaith Marriage.

Factors of a religious nature have been considered in many of the previous studies. These variables are of three kinds; religiosity as measured by church attendance, changes in religious affiliation, and religious training and affiliation of children. The findings are as follows:

- 1) Three studies indicate that the religious observance of intermarried Catholics is less than the observance of intramarried Catholics.⁵⁰
- Two studies found no differences between these groups.⁵¹

⁴⁷Koenig, op.cit., p. 238.

⁴⁸J.S.Slotkin, "Adjustment in Jewish-Gentile Intermarriages," Social Forces, XXI (1942), 227.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Schnepp., op.cit., Table 46, p. 359. "Dubius", "New Light on Mixed Marriage," Ecclesiastical Review, LXXXII (1930), 413. Elmer, op.cit., p. 191.

⁵¹Joseph Fichter, Social relations in the Urban Parish, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 76. John L. Thomas, "The Pattern of Marriage Among Catholics," in Alphonse A. Clemens, ed., Marriage Education and Counselling, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1951), p. 55.

2) The religious observance of intermarried men is less than that of intermarried women.⁵²

3) The estimates of the amount of conversion in interfaith marriages vary from one-tenth to one-third. If there is a conversion it is somewhat more likely that the wife will make the change. Neither Protestantism nor Catholicism is clearly superior to the other in gaining converts.⁵³

4) In general, there is a greater likelihood that the children will follow the religion of their mother than that of their father.⁵⁴ This tendency appears to be affected by the sex of the child and the religion that is most common in the area.⁵⁵

5) In Jewish-Christian marriages the children are more likely to identify with the Jewish religion.⁵⁶ Five investigators report that the children of Protestant-Catholic marriages are more frequently Catholic than Protestant.⁵⁷

5. Divorce and Interfaith Marriage.

⁵² Murray Leiffer, "Mixed Marriages and Church Loyalties," Christian Century, LXVI (1949), 78. Schnepf, op.cit., p.90

⁵³ Landis, op.cit., p.406. Murray H. Leiffer, "Interfaith Marriages and their Effect on the Religious Training of Children," Lumen Vitae, IV (1949), 445-446.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 448. Landis, op.cit., pp. 404-405.

⁵⁵ Ibid. David, op.cit., p. 477.

⁵⁶ Baber, op.cit., p.712. Koenig, loc.cit.

⁵⁷ "Dubius", op.cit. Bernard van Leeuwen, "Influence of Mixed Marriages in Holland," Lumen Vitae, IV (1949), 438-441. Schnepf, op.cit., Figure 15, p. 179. Coakley, loc.cit. Elmer, op.cit., pp.191,192.

There have been three large scale studies which involved comparisons of the divorce rates of interfaith and intrafaith marriages. All of the studies agree that interfaith marriages are more likely to end in divorce than are intrafaith marriages. They also report that divorce is most likely among those who have no religion.⁵⁸ David's Swiss study also shows higher divorce rates for intermarriages than for intramarriages.⁵⁹ The findings of Goode and Chancellor and Monahan are similar to these mentioned above.⁶⁰

The introduction of other variables produces some findings of interest. For example, Landis found that the divorce rate in intermarriages in which there had been a conversion was almost as high as the rate for marriages in which there had not been a conversion. He also discovered that the divorce rates for marriages in which the woman is a Catholic are relatively low, regardless of the religion of her spouse.⁶¹ Weeks controlled occupation in his study. He found that the divorce rates of interfaith marriages are relatively high in the proprietary, clerical, and semi-skilled groups. In the other occupational categories the rates are no higher than for Protestant intramarriages.⁶²

⁵⁸Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1938), p. 21. H. Ashley Weeks, "Differential Divorce Rates by Occupation," *Social Forces*, XXI (1943), 336. Landis, *op.cit.*, p. 403.

⁵⁹David, *op.cit.*, p. 476.

⁶⁰William J. Goode, *After Divorce*, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 100. Loren E. Chancellor and Thomas P. Monahan, "Religious Preference and Interreligious Mixtures in Marriage and Divorces in Iowa," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (1956), 238, 239.

⁶¹Landis, *loc.cit.*

⁶²Weeks, *loc.cit.*

In general, the data indicate that interfaith marriages are more prone to end in divorce. They also indicate, however, that interfaith marriages are not homogeneous in this regard; there is considerable variation within the category.

6. Conclusion

On the basis of the evidence presented, there is little room for doubt that interfaith marriages do differ from intramarriages on several postmarital variables. Some of the factors that have shown differences are fertility, religiosity, and divorce. The data also show that it is incorrect to view interfaith marriages as a homogeneous category, for the introduction of additional variables reveals statistical interactions. The relationship between interfaith and intrafaith marriages is different in different categories of a third variable. Controlling for class, sex, age, etc., have revealed these interactions.

Though these differences on postmarital variables are fairly well established they cannot be attributed with certainty to the effect of marriage type. It is possible that these differences are due to the differences in premarital characteristics which were discussed previously. Since none of the investigators matched their groups on such factors, a definite conclusion cannot be reached. One of the main goals of the present investigation is to provide data which will allow conclusions concerning the contribution of premarital factors to the observed differentials.

CHAPTER IV

The Data Relevant to the Test of Basic Hypothesis I

In this chapter we will present the results of the comparisons of the marriage types on a variety of premarital factors. The data will test the hypothesis: People who intermarry differ from those who intramarry on premarital variables that may be relevant for marital outcome.

It seems appropriate to discuss the format of the tables to be used before the findings are presented. As may be seen by consulting Table IV-1, below, the data are presented in terms of intermarriage rates for response categories. The figures indicate what percentage of the persons giving a particular response are intermarried. For example, 18.2 percent of the Catholics who reported that religion had no importance to their parents are intermarried.

This particular format was chosen because it makes clear any trends that may exist, and it is most logical in terms of the time relationships between the variables. The tables do not, however, give all the information that the reader may wish. Difficulty may arise because our specific hypotheses imply a comparison of marriage types as to the occurrence of a given response rather than comparisons of responses for the occurrence of interfaith marriage. The information needed for the test of the specific hypotheses is easily obtained. If the intermarriage rate for a response is greater than the intermarriage rate for the column, a higher percentage of the intermarried than of the intramarried gave that response. If the intermarriage rate of a category is less than the column rate that response was relatively more frequent in the intramarried group. Table IV-1, indicates that a higher percentage of the Catholic intermarried than of the intramarried reported that religion

was not important to both their parents, since the intermarriage rate for that category is higher than the intermarriage rate for the Catholic group. The exact proportion of each group that gave a particular response cannot be obtained by inspection. It can be easily calculated, however.

We now turn to a consideration of the subsidiary and specific hypotheses which will test our first basic hypotheses.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis A

Subsidiary Hypothesis A states: The probability of intermarriage is greater among those who had little tie to religion when they were young than it is among those who had a strong early tie to religion.¹

This hypothesis, though more specific than the basic hypothesis, is not directly testable. We must, therefore, consider the specific hypotheses, which are directly testable, in order to evaluate the subsidiary hypothesis. The first specific hypothesis states: The percentage of the intermarried respondents who report religion had no importance to their parents is significantly greater than the percentage of the intramarried who so respond.² The data for the test of the first specific hypothesis of Subsidiary Hypothesis A are found in Table IV-1, on the following page.

* ¹ Though not specified, all the hypotheses of this thesis are meant to apply to comparisons with religion controlled as well as to comparisons of total inter and intramarriage groups. This point is discussed in Chapter I. See p. 12

² Parents' religiosity is used as an index of the respondent's early tie to religion.

TABLE IV-1

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "FIRST, HOW IMPORTANT WOULD YOU SAY RELIGION (BELIEF IN RELIGION) WAS TO YOUR PARENTS: FOR EXAMPLE WOULD YOU SAY IT WAS: VERY IMPORTANT, SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT, NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (SEX OF PARENT NOT CONSIDERED)

Importance of Religion	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Very to Both	18.2	352	27.0	122	15.0	40	21.1	525
Somewhat to Both	21.4	154	37.1	151	19.7	61	28.2	373
Not to Both	48.0	25	40.4	57	16.2	37	34.2	120
Very, Somewhat	32.1	28	36.8	19	25.0	4	35.8	53
Very, Not	33.3	18	29.2	24	0.0	6	27.1	48
Somewhat, Not	36.4	11	38.5	13	42.8	7	37.5	32
Total	21.8	588	33.9	386	18.1	155	26.2	1151 ^b
chi-square	20.7		5.2		.9	3d.f.	16.2	5d.f.
P	<.001		<.50		<.90		<.01	
T(% Inter:% Intra-Not to Both)	2.45		1.08		t=.35		1.94	
P	.01		.28		>.50		.05	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-two Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are sixteen respondents who gave no answer.

For the test of our hypothesis the row labelled "Not to Both" contains the pertinent information. In all instances, except for the Jewish group, the intermarriage rates for persons giving this response are higher than the intermarriage rates for all respondents in that group. We may conclude, therefore, that with one exception the percentage of the intermar-

ried that reported religion had no importance to their parents was greater than the percentage of the intramarried who so responded. The T tests³ indicate that in the Catholic and Total groups a significantly greater percentage of the intermarried reported that religion had no importance to their parents than was the case among the intramarried. The hypothesis is, therefore, supported for Catholics and the sample as a whole but not for Jews and Protestants.

We now turn to Specific Hypothesis 2 which states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried than of the intramarried report that their parents never attended church. Table IV-2, on the following page, presents the data to test this hypothesis.

In general, this comparison provides partial support for the second specific hypothesis. In the Total group and the Protestant group a significantly higher proportion of the intermarried than of the intramarried reported that their parents never attended church. The difference in the Jewish group is in the same direction, but it is not large enough to be considered significant. There appears to be no relationship in the Catholic group.

³The two-tailed test of significance is used to evaluate the obtained T's. A P of .10 or less is taken as evidence that the null hypothesis is incorrect. Though a one-tailed test might have been used, the more stringent test was chosen to compensate for the fact that many of the variables are not normally distributed. Edwards indicates that deviations from normality are not important when a two-tailed test is used. The rules presented by Walker and Lev were used to determine whether categories had to be combined in the chi-square test. If the logic of the comparison forbade the combination of categories, the chi-square test was omitted. If the degrees of freedom are not indicated next to the chi-square, the number used in the Total group was used. See, Allen E. Edwards, Experimental Design in Psychological Research, (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1950), pp. 165-167. And, Helen Walker and Joseph Lev, Statistical Inference, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1953), p. 107.

TABLE IV-2

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION, "AS A RULE, HOW OFTEN DID YOUR PARENTS ATTEND CHURCH (SYNAGOGUE) WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (IF PARENTS DIFFERED IN CHURCH ATTENDANCE THE HIGHER FREQUENCY WAS RECORDED.)

Church Attendance	<u>Catholic</u>		<u>Protestant</u>		<u>Jewish</u>		<u>Total</u> ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Once/Week or More	20.3	438	29.6	172	16.7	48	23.4	671
Few Times/Month	26.7	45	31.7	60	0.0	12	28.4	123
Few Times/Year to Less than Once /Year	26.1	88	36.9	111	18.0	72	28.7	275
Never	23.5	17	46.5	43	30.8	26	37.2	86
Total	21.8	588	33.9	386	18.4	158	26.2	1155 ^b
chi-square	2.1		4.3		4.8		8.8	3d.f.
P	<.70		<.30		<.20		<.05	
T (%Inter-Never: %Intra-Never)	.18		1.74		t=1.53		2.20	
P	>.50		.08		>.10		.03	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are twelve cases in which there was no answer to the question.

The third specific hypothesis calls for a comparison of the percentages of the intermarried and intramarried who come from secular backgrounds.⁴

⁴A respondent is considered to come from a secular background if he reported that religion had no importance to his parents and that his parents never attended church.

Is the proportion of intermarried from secular backgrounds greater than the proportion of intramarried respondents who come from such homes?

Secular cases represented 6.6 percent of the Total intermarried group and 3.4 percent of the intramarried. The test of significance yielded a T of 2.08. The difference is significant, then, at the .04 level. When religion is controlled, we find that within each religion the group with a secular background has a higher intermarriage rate than the group as a whole. None of the differences are significant, however. Of the six Catholics from a secular background, three had intermarried. ($T = 1.24$; $P = .22$) Among the twenty-seven Protestants who fell into this category there are twelve intermarried respondents. ($T = 1.14$; $P = .25$). Sixteen Jewish respondents came from secular backgrounds and five of them intermarried ($T = 1.17$; $P = < .50$).

We have a final indication of the religiosity of the respondent's parents; whether or not the respondent attended a parochial school. Since only seven in the other groups attended parochial school, we can present data only for the Catholic respondents. A total of 23.4 percent of the Catholics who intermarried attended such a school compared with 31.3 of the intramarried. The T is 2.00, a difference significant at .04. The final specific hypothesis of this section is supported.

We have now presented the data pertinent to the four specific hypotheses of Subsidiary Hypothesis A. Table IV-3, on the following page, summarizes the data bearing upon it.

In the most general terms the hypothesis is supported, since there are six significant differences in the predicted direction, and only one would have been expected upon the basis of chance.

TABLE IV-3

SUMMARY TABLE - SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES OF SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS A: THE PROBABILITY OF INTERMARRIAGE IS GREATER AMONG THOSE WHO HAD LITTLE TIE TO RELIGION WHEN THEY WERE YOUNG THAN IT IS AMONG THOSE WHO HAD A STRONG EARLY TIE TO RELIGION - PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHILE GROWING UP. (A NEGATIVE (-) SIGN INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT IN THE PREDICTED DIRECTION.)

Specific Variable	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Jewish
1. Religion Not Important to Both Parents	.05	.01	.28	>.50(-)
2. Parents Never Attended Church	.03	>.50	.08	>.10
3. Secular Background	.04	.22	.25	<.50
4. Attended Parochial School		.04		
Significant in Predicted Direction - 6				
Not Significant - 7				
Significant in Opposite Direction - 0				

The number of significant differences in the predicted direction is greater than the number expected if only chance were operating.

Of greater importance are the results in each of the four groups. The hypothesis receives complete support in the comparison of Total samples, but in the three religious groups the support is not as strong. However, with one exception all of the differences are in the predicted direction, and several of them are significant. We would conclude that the hypothesis receives fair support in all groups except the Jewish. A weak early tie to religion is associated with high intermarriage rates for Protestants and Catholics.

Since the hypotheses to follow have different meaning for those who came from secular backgrounds than they do for those who had religious

parents, we will remove from further consideration all who reported that religion was not at all important to both their parents and that their parents never attended church.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis B

Subsidiary Hypothesis B states: Those whose early relationships with their parents were dissatisfying are more likely to contract interfaith marriages than are those who were not dissatisfied with their relationships with their parents.

The first specific hypothesis under this subsidiary hypothesis states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents than of the intramarried report they felt dissatisfied with their parents during youth. The data to test this hypothesis will be found below.

Before presenting the table a few remarks are necessary. In order to evaluate this hypothesis we needed a general index of dissatisfaction with parents during childhood and adolescence. Since our questionnaire did not provide materials which would allow the construction of a true scale, a substitute had to be used. The Midtown Project made considerable use of "simple scores" and we followed the same procedure. Several questions which were believed to refer to a single area were combined. An individual's score is the number of questions he answered in a given direction.

The deficiencies of this type of score are various; the scores have nothing but face validity, responses to different questions are given equal weight, the respondent's answers may very well be colored by present attitudes, etc. Though this is regrettable, it was not possible to construct more sophisticated instruments with the data which were available. The author

feels that these simple scores have some value. Since they are thought of as first approximations, which must be greatly refined if further research is done, it seems permissible to use them.

The score devised to test the first specific hypothesis of subsidiary Hypothesis B is entitled the Family Dissatisfaction (D) Score. It is defined as follows: The D score indicates the degree to which the respondent felt critical of his relationship with his parents or of actions of his parents. This score is conceived as being very general. It includes dissatisfactions in several areas; domination, rejection, differences of values. Each of these may have a somewhat different relationship to intermarriage, and it would be preferable if we could measure each of these areas and relate them to intermarriage. This was not possible for we did not have enough information. We do believe a general indication that the intermarriage group was more dissatisfied with their parents would be of significance. The questions used for this score are as follows: (in each case the indicated answer received a score of 1)

"During your school days children were often asked in school to write papers (compositions) about their home life. I have here a few statements written by children some years ago. As I read each statement will you think back to when you were growing up (age 6-18) and tell me whether you ever felt that way. For example:

1. Father wants to run his children's lives. When you were growing up, did you feel that way too? (yes)
2. Mother wants to run her children's lives. When you were growing up, did you ever feel that way too? (yes)
3. Parents are often way behind the times. When you were growing up did

you feel that way too? (yes)

4. Father spends too little time with me. When you were growing up, did you feel that way too? (yes)

5. Mother does not understand me. When you were growing up, did you ever feel that way too? (yes)

6. My parents often don't practice what they preach. When you were growing up, did you ever feel that way too? (yes)

7. My parents are always proud of their children. When you were growing up, did you ever feel that way too? (no)

The results of the comparison of the interfaith and intrafaith marriage groups on this score are presented on the following page.

The hypothesis is supported by the Catholic and Total groups. In the Jewish and Protestant groups the differences, though not significant, are in the same direction. The first specific hypothesis of this section is, therefore, shown to be partially valid.

The next group of hypotheses will compare groups on the items from which the D score was constructed.

Specific Hypothesis 2 states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "parents were behind the times".

TABLE IV-4

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY FAMILY DISSATISFACTION (D) SCORE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION

D Score	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
0	17.5	183	29.4	102	12.5	32	21.7	322
1-3	20.9	311	32.6	215	17.3	81	25.5	623
4-7	23.9	97	44.4	45	20.7	29	31.4	173
Total	21.2	591	33.1	362	16.9	142	25.4	1118 ^b
Mean (Inter: Intra)	1.97: 1.63		1.76: 1.58		2.04: 1.97		1.86: 1.66	
T (diff.-means)	2.07		1.08		t=.20		1.34	
P	.04		.28		>.50		.06	
chi-square	5.6		3.2		.5		6.0 2d.f.	
P	<.10		.20		<.30		<.05	
T (%Inter-4-7: %Intra-4-7)	1.83		.91		t=.58		2.00	
P	.07		.36		>.50		.04	

^a Included in the table are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

The data to test this hypothesis will be found in Table IV-5, on the following page.

In all groups the proportion of intermarried who said "yes" to this question is higher than the proportion of the intermarried who so responded. In all groups, except the Jewish group, the difference is statistically

TABLE IV-5

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, PARENTS ARE OFTEN WAY BEHIND THE TIMES?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	24.7	238	39.3	145	17.6	68	29.0	458
No	19.0	348	29.2	216	14.3	70	22.9	650
Total	21.3	586	33.2	361	15.9	138	25.4	1108 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	1.71		2.00		t=.54		2.28	
P	.09		.04		>.50		.02	

^a Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Excluded from the table are ten respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

significant. We may conclude that the second specific hypothesis is valid, therefore.

The next specific hypothesis states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "home is a place where people get in each other's way". The data to test this hypothesis are presented on the next page.

The hypothesis is supported by the Catholic and Total groups. The difference in the Protestant group is in the hypothesized direction, but it is not large enough to be significant. The Jewish intermarried do not differ from the Jewish intramarried in their responses to the question. The hy-

TABLE IV-6

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, HOME IS A PLACE WHERE PEOPLE GET IN EACH OTHER'S WAY?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	28.9	97	41.7	48	13.0	23	32.0	172
No	19.7	488	31.8	311	16.4	116	24.1	934
Total	21.2	585	33.1	359	15.8	139	25.3	1106 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	1.85		1.27		t=.41		2.03	
P	.06		.20		>.50		.04	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bExcluded from the table are twelve respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

pothesis receives, then, partial support.

Specific hypothesis 4 states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they felt "parents want me to do things better than other children."⁵ The data bearing upon this hypothesis are presented below.

⁵This hypothesis was formulated without very much certainty of its validity. The author was not sure which response indicated that the respondent had an unsatisfactory relationship with his parents. For some, a positive answer may indicate a feeling that the parents were too demanding or too pushing. For others, such a response may be an indication of a feeling that their parents had justifiable interest in their offspring's accomplishments. It was felt, though not very strongly, that a positive answer was indicative of dissatisfaction.

TABLE IV-7

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION. "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, MY PARENTS ALWAYS WANT ME TO DO THINGS BETTER THAN OTHER CHILDREN?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS(...)) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	16.3	202	40.2	112	24.1	58	25.5	384
No	23.6	381	30.4	247	12.5	80	25.6	719
Total	21.0	580	33.0	358	17.3	138	25.6	1103 ^b
T (%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	2.16		1.80		t = 1.78		...	
P	.03		.07		<.10		...	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are fifteen respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents from secular backgrounds.

The reader's attention is directed to the Total column. The intermarriage rates of both response categories are almost exactly the same; a fact that might lead to the conclusion that feelings of this kind are of no relevance. The other columns indicate the falsity of this conclusion. In each group the difference is significant below the .10 level. They are in different directions, however, and serve to cancel out when combined in the Total column. It seems that the question had different meaning for different groups. The hypothesis is supported only in the Protestant and Jewish groups.

The next question asked the respondents if they felt that they were happy only at home when they were young. A positive reply is considered

indicative of a great closeness between parent and child. We hypothesize, therefore, that a smaller percentage of the intermarried respondents will answer this question in the affirmative. The data to test this hypothesis will be found in the table which follows.

TABLE IV-8

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, I AM HAPPY ONLY WHEN AT HOME?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	16.9	154	29.4	51	7.7	13	20.2	223
No	22.5	426	33.6	307	18.2	126	26.6	876
Total	21.0	580	33.0	358	17.3	139	25.4	1099 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	1.54		1.14		t=1.12		2.08	
P	.12		.25		>.10		.04	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-two Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are nineteen respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

In all cases those who answered "yes" had lower intermarriage rates than those who said "no". The difference is significant below the .10 level only for the Total group. It is only in this group, therefore, that the hypothesis is supported.

We next hypothesize that the percentage of intermarried respondents who felt that their parents had not been proud of their children will be

significantly higher than the proportion of intramarried who had this feeling. The results of the comparison on this question will be found in Table IV-9, below.

TABLE IV-9

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, MY PARENTS ARE ALWAYS PROUD OF THEIR CHILDREN?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	19.8	511	33.9	303	18.6	118	25.4	951
No	31.9	69	32.1	53	9.5	21	29.2	147
Total	21.2	580	33.1	356	17.3	139	25.5	1098 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	2.03		...		t = 1.24		.69	
P	.04		...		>.10		.49	

^a Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are twenty respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

The table does not provide much support for the hypothesis. The Catholic and Total groups show differences in the hypothesized direction, but only the difference in the Catholic group is significant. The Protestant groups do not differ, and in the Jewish group the difference is contrary to expectation. Though it is not significant at the .10 level, the difference between the Jewish groups is considerable.

The respondents were queried as to whether or not they felt that

their mothers did not understand them. The hypothesis is that a higher proportion of the intermarried will report this feeling. The results of the comparison of the groups will be found in Table IV-10, below.

TABLE IV-10

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, MOTHER DOES NOT UNDERSTAND ME?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	24.2	149	31.3	99	19.2	52	26.7	307
No	20.3	428	34.6	257	15.9	88	25.2	788
Total	21.3	577	33.7	356	17.1	140	25.7	1095 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	.96		.60		t = .50		.51	
P	.34		>.50		>.50		>.50	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are twenty-three respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

None of the differences are significant, and the hypothesis gets no support. The differences in the Catholic and Total columns are in the expected direction, but those for the Protestant and Jewish groups are in the opposite direction.

The respondents were also asked if they had felt that their fathers had spent too little time with them. The hypothesis is that a higher per-

centage of the intermarried will report that they felt that way. The test of the hypothesis will be found in Table IV-11, which follows.

TABLE IV-11

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, FATHER SPENDS TOO LITTLE TIME WITH ME?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	23.0	165	36.4	77	16.7	36	26.2	286
No	19.5	394	32.8	274	15.5	97	24.5	789
Total	20.6	559	33.6	351	15.8	133	24.9	1075 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	.90		.57		t = .17		.48	
P	.37		>.50		>.50		>.50	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are fifty-three respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

The differences in all cases are in the expected direction. They are so small, however, that we can have little assurance that a difference exists in the population from which the sample was taken. The hypothesis is, therefore, not supported.

The next two questions refer to feelings of the respondent as to the amount of direction given him by his parents. The first question asked if the respondent felt that his father tried to run his children's lives. The expectation is that a higher proportion of the intermarried will agree

with the statement. The results of the test of this hypothesis will be found in Table IV-12, below.

TABLE IV-12

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, FATHER WANTS TO RUN HIS CHILDREN'S LIVES?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	20.0	120	34.0	53	25.7	35	24.9	209
No	20.3	434	33.6	295	12.9	101	25.0	851
Total	20.2	554	33.6	348	16.2	136	25.0	1060 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	...		...		t = 1.61		...	
P	...		...		>.10		...	

^a Included in the total are twenty-two Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table

^b Omitted from the table are fifty-eight respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

The results indicate that this attitude has little relationship to the concern of this research. The only group which shows any difference is the Jewish group, and this difference is not quite significant at .10 level. It is in the predicted direction, however.

The respondents were also asked if they felt that their mothers wanted to run their lives. The same hypothesis is formulated as for the previous question. The results of the comparison are presented in Table IV-13,

which follows.

TABLE IV-13

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, MOTHER WANTS TO RUN HER CHILDREN'S LIVES?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	26.0	142	33.0	100	18.9	53	27.8	302
No	20.1	433	33.6	256	14.9	87	24.9	791
Total	21.6	575	33.4	356	16.4	140	25.7	1093 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	1.42		...		t=.60		.99	
P	.16		...		>.50		.32	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are twenty-five respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

Except for the Protestant group, where there is practically no difference, the difference in all the groups is in the predicted direction. None of them is significant, however.

The final question of this group asked the respondents if they had felt that their parents did not practice what they preached. It is expected that a higher percentage of those who had intermarried than of the intra-married will answer in the affirmative. The results of the test of this prediction will be found on the next page.

TABLE IV-14

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP DID YOU EVER FEEL, MY PARENTS OFTEN DON'T PRACTICE WHAT THEY PREACH?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	24.6	122	40.9	66	0.0	17	28.4	208
No	20.3	458	31.8	292	18.7	123	24.9	893
Total	21.2	580	33.5	358	16.4	140	25.5	1101 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	1.00		1.35		t=4.46		1.06	
P	.32		.18		< .001		.29	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are seventeen respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents from secular backgrounds.

The Catholic, Protestant, and Total groups show differences in the direction predicted. The differences are not significant, however. The Jewish group gives surprising results. None of the intermarried Jews said that they had felt that their parents did not practice what they preached. This is one of the few questions to give significant results which clearly contradict an hypothesis.

This concludes our presentation of the data related to the specific hypotheses of Subsidiary Hypothesis B. We now must decide if these findings indicate that persons whose early relations with their parents were dissatisfying are more likely to intermarry than those who had relationships

they considered to be satisfactory. Table IV-15, summarizes the relevant data.

TABLE IV-15

SUMMARY TABLE - SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES OF SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS B: THOSE WHOSE EARLY RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS WERE DISSATISFYING ARE MORE LIKELY TO CONTRACT INTERFAITH MARRIAGES THAN THOSE WHO WERE NOT DISSATISFIED WITH THEIR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THEIR PARENTS - PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHILE GROWING UP, (A NEGATIVE (-) SIGN INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT IN THE PREDICTED DIRECTION. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED.)

Specific Variable	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Jewish
1. D Score - 4 or Above	.04	.07	.36	>.50
2. Felt Parents Were Behind Times.	.02	.09	.04	>.50
3. Felt People Got in Each Other's Way at Home.	.04	.06	.20	>.50(-)
4. Felt Parents Want Me to Do Things Better Than Other Children.	...	.03(-)	.07	<.10
5. Felt Happy Only At Home.	.04	.12	.25	>.10
6. Felt Parents Were Always Proud of Children.	.49	.04	...	>.10(-)
7. Felt Mother Does Not Understand Me.	>.50	.34	>.50(-)	>.50(-)
8. Felt Father Spends Too Little Time With Me.	>.50	.37	>.50	>.50
9. Felt Father Wants to Run Children's Lives.	...	...	...	>.10
10. Felt Mother Wants to Run Children's Lives.	.32	.16	...	>.50
11. Felt Parents Don't Practice What They Preach.	.29	.32	.18	<.001(-)

Significant in Predicted Direction - 11

Not Significant - 31

Significant in Opposite Direction - 2

The number of significant differences in the predicted direction is greater than the number expected if only chance were operating.

If only chance were operating we would expect two differences in

the predicted direction and two in the opposite direction. We found, however, eleven significant differences in the predicted direction. The two significant differences opposing the hypothesis are no more than would be expected by chance.⁶ In general, there appears to be a relation between dissatisfaction with parents and intermarriage.

In the Total and Catholic groups the support for the hypothesis is considerable. In these groups, in addition, the D Score shows significant differences. This score is thought to be the best test of the subsidiary hypothesis. There are several significant differences in the Protestant group, but the D Score difference does not reach an acceptable level of significance. We feel that the results for this group are inconclusive. There seems to be little relationship between reports of dissatisfaction and interfaith marriage in the Jewish group. Thus, in two groups the hypothesis is supported, in one the results are inconclusive, and in the fourth it is not supported.

We shall now consider Subsidiary Hypothesis C.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis C

The third subsidiary hypothesis states: Those whose early family life was strife-filled are more likely to intermarry than are those who came from families in which the interaction was relatively smooth.

The first specific hypothesis of Subsidiary Hypothesis C states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents than of

⁶One of these differences occurred on a variable whose meaning is not clear. The hypothesis for this variable was made with little conviction.

those who intramarried report high degrees of intrafamilial conflict. In order to test this hypothesis an index of intrafamilial conflict was needed. The Family Conflict (C) Score, described below, was devised for the purpose.

The C Score is a simple score as was the D Score. It is defined as follows: The C Score indicates the degree to which the respondent's early home life was characterized by intrafamilial strife, and the degree to which this strife seemed to affect the respondent at the time. The questions involved and the responses that were scored as points are:

1. "Of course, all parents have their quarrels (arguments with each other). In your home when you were growing up (age 6-18) did such quarrels occur often, occasionally, or rarely? (often)

2. When you were a teen-ager (age 13-18) did you have disagreements with your parents (parent substitutes) often, occasionally, rarely, or never? (often)

3. When you were growing up did you ever feel home is a place where people get in each other's way? (yes)

4. As a child (age 6-9) how much were you afraid of family quarrels? Would you say not at all, a little, or much? (much)

5. As a child how much were you afraid of being bawled out? Would you say not at all, a little, or much? (much)

In this instance it is hypothesized that the intermarried group will have the higher scores. The results of the test of the hypothesis are presented on the following page.

In all groups, except for the Jewish group, the proportion of intermarried respondents who received scores of three or more is higher than the

TABLE IV-16

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY FAMILY CONFLICT (C) SCORE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

C Score	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
0,1	19.0	273	33.0	209	21.0	57	24.0	847
2	20.8	259	30.2	116	13.4	67	26.9	156
3-5	32.2	59	43.2	37	16.7	18	33.9	115
Total	21.2	591	33.1	362	16.9	142	25.4	1118 ^b
Mean (Inter: Intra)	1.14: .87		.88: .74		.88: 1.14		.98: .86	
T (diff. - means)	2.39		1.12		t = .97		1.55	
P	.02		.26		< .50		.12	
chi-square	5.9		2.1		1.0		5.6	2 d.f.
P	< .10		< .50		> .50		< .10	
T (%Inter - 3-5: %Intra - 3-5)	1.91		1.28		t = .03		2.00	
P	.06		.20		> .50		.04	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

proportion of the intramarried with such scores. The differences are, however, significant only in the Catholic and Total groups. Only in these groups, therefore, do we find that the hypothesis is supported.

The second specific hypothesis of this group states: A significantly

higher percentage of the intermarried report disagreement with their parents over religion during adolescence. The data to test this hypothesis are presented below.

TABLE IV-17

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WERE THE DISAGREEMENTS EVER ABOUT SUCH THINGS AS RELIGIOUS MATTERS?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	60.0	25	33.3	12	26.7	15	45.3	53
No	22.3	327	32.9	240	16.2	99	26.0	678
Never Disagreed	16.4	225	35.9	103	15.4	26	23.1	364
Total	21.7	577	33.8	355	17.1	140	25.9	1095 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	3.27		...		t=.89		2.77	
P	.001		...		<.50		<.01	

^a Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are twenty-three cases who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

Relatively few of the respondents reported that they had disagreements over religion. In all groups, except for the Protestant, the proportion of intermarried who so responded is higher than the proportion of the intramarried who reported such arguments. The differences are highly significant in the Catholic and Total groups but not in the Jewish group. Again, the hypothesis is supported by two of the comparisons.

In addition to this specific question the respondents were asked if they, in general, had disagreements with their parents when they were teenagers. It is expected that the intermarried will report such disagreements relatively more frequently. Table IV-18 presents the results of this comparison.

TABLE IV-18

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE A TEEN-AGER (AGE 13-18), DID YOU HAVE DISAGREEMENTS WITH YOUR PARENTS: OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, RARELY, OR NEVER?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS (...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Often	31.8	66	31.7	41	12.0	25	29.2	136
Occasionally	21.6	153	36.5	104	16.9	59	26.8	322
Rarely	23.7	139	29.1	110	23.3	30	26.2	282
Never	17.1	216	34.6	101	16.0	25	23.3	352
Total	21.6	574	33.1	356	17.3	139	25.7	1092 ^b
T(%Inter-Often: %Intra-Often)	1.89		...		t=.87		.79	
P	.06		...		<.50		>.50	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are twenty-six respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

Only in the Catholic group is the proportion of the intermarried who responded "often" to the question significantly greater than the pro-

portion of the intermarried who so responded. In the other groups there appears to be no relationship between report of disagreement and interfaith marriage.

The next hypothesis states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents report that their parents quarreled frequently. The data to test this hypothesis are presented below.

TABLE IV-19

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "OF COURSE ALL PARENTS HAVE THEIR QUARRELS (ARGUMENTS WITH EACH OTHER). IN YOUR HOME, WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP (AGE 6-18), DID SUCH QUARRELS OCCUR OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY OR RARELY?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	<u>Catholic</u>		<u>Protestant</u>		<u>Jewish</u>		<u>Total^a</u>	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Often	31.4	86	38.5	52	11.1	27	30.1	166
Occasionally	18.5	162	39.3	84	17.0	47	25.2	297
Rarely	21.0	210	30.5	154	15.2	46	24.4	418
Never	16.8	89	35.2	54	35.7	114	26.7	165
Total	21.2	547	34.6	344	17.2	134	25.9	1046 ^b
T(%Inter-Often: %Intra-Often)	2.26		.63		t=1.07		1.27	
P	.02		>.50		<.50		.20	

^a Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are seventy-two respondents who did not answer or said they "did not know", and forty-nine from secular backgrounds.

Only in the Catholic group is the hypothesis supported. The difference in the Jewish group, though small, is not in the direction predicted.

The fifth and final hypothesis of this section states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that there was divorce, separation, or desertion in their family of orientation. The data related to this hypothesis are presented below.⁷

TABLE IV-20

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "DID YOU ALWAYS LIVE TOGETHER WITH BOTH YOUR REAL PARENTS UP TO THE TIME YOU WERE SIXTEEN YEARS OLD?" AND RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHAT HAPPENED?" (THAT YOU DID NOT LIVE WITH BOTH YOUR REAL PARENTS UP TO THE TIME THAT YOU WERE SIXTEEN YEARS OLD), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Lived with Parents	20.3	384	32.3	229	13.5	114	23.9	731 ^b
Did Not Live with Parents								
a) Death etc.	20.3	172	30.1	83	31.8	22	25.4	284
b) Divorce etc.	17.8	28	43.8	32	9.1	11	28.3	70
c) Lived Away	34.6	26	39.3	28	66.7	6	38.1	63
d) Other	31.6	19	55.5	9	40.5	5	38.2	34
Total(Did Not Live...)	22.7	207	34.6	133	26.3	38	28.2	387 ^b
T(%Inter-Div.: %Intra-Div.)	.72		1.20		t=1.70		...	
P	.47		.23		.10		...	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are forty-nine respondents who came from a secular background.

⁷Because of the small number of cases in some categories we combined responses. This procedure necessitated combining categories that have intermarriage rates that vary considerably. All responses that indicate that the breakup was due to illness or death were combined. Also joined were the divorce, separation, and desertion categories.

The hypothesis is not supported. Only in the Protestant and Total groups are the differences in the expected direction. They are not significant, however. In the Jewish group there is a significant difference which opposes the hypothesis.⁸

Table IV-21 summarizes the data relevant to the test of Subsidiary Hypothesis C.

TABLE IV-21

SUMMARY TABLE - SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES OF SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS C: THOSE WHOSE EARLY FAMILY LIFE WAS STRIFEFUL ARE MORE LIKELY TO INTERMARRY THAN ARE THOSE WHO CAME FROM FAMILIES IN WHICH THE INTERACTION WAS RELATIVELY SMOOTH.- PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHILE GROWING UP. (A NEGATIVE (-) SIGN INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT IN THE PREDICTED DIRECTION. THREE DOTS (...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THAT THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Specific Variable	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Jewish
1. C Score - 3 or Above	.04	.06	.20	>.50(-)
2. Disagreed about Religion.	<.01	.001	...	<.50
3. Disagreed with Parents Often.	>.50	.06	...	<.50
4. Parents Quarreled Often.	.20	.02	>.50	<.50(-)
5. Parents were Divorced, Separated, etc.	...	.47(-)	.23	.10(-)
Significant in the Predicted Direction - 6				
Not Significant - 13				
Significant in the Opposite Direction - 1				

The number of significant differences in the predicted direction is greater than the number expected if only chance were operating.

⁸ The two categories which have intermarriage rates considerably above the group rates are the two categories whose meanings are ambiguous.

As was the case for the previous subsidiary hypotheses, we observed more significant differences than would have been expected on the basis of chance alone. By this least stringent criterion the hypothesis is supported.

The hypothesis receives strong support in the Catholic group, and the data for the Total group would also lead us to accept its validity. It is not, however, supported by the Protestant and Jewish groups. In these groups there appears to be little relationship between familial conflict and interfaith marriage. The same conclusions would be reached on the basis of the C Score comparisons.

Our next concern is Subsidiary Hypothesis D.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis D

Subsidiary Hypothesis D states: The intermarried respondents are more likely to have had only tenuous ties to their immediate and extended families in their early years. The validity of this proposition will be tested by six specific hypotheses.

The first specific hypothesis of this section states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents report low family integration during their early years.

The test of this hypothesis requires the construction of a third simple score. This score is called the Family Integration (I) Score, and it is defined as follows: The Family Integration (I) Score indicates the degree to which there was an opportunity for parents and relatives to exert influence upon the formation of the respondent's attitudes. It should be noted that the definition is in terms of the possibility of familial influence. A high score does not necessarily indicate that the influence was exerted, but a

low score, zero or one, indicates less opportunity to exert influence. The items composing the score and the responses given a score of one are as follows:

1. "When you were growing up (6-18 years old) were there any other relatives (uncles, aunts, grandparents, etc.) who lived in your home with you? (yes)

2. When you were growing up (6-18) were there any other relatives whom you saw fairly often? (yes)

3. Did you always live with both your real parents up to the time you were sixteen years old? (yes)

4. When you were growing up (age 6-18) did you ever feel, 'I am happy only when I am at home'?(yes)

It is hypothesized that a significantly higher percentage of the intermarried will receive a low score. The data to test this hypothesis are found on the following page.

The percentage of intermarried respondents who scored 0,1 is higher than the percentage of the intramarried who received these scores. The differences are all significant below the .10 level. The hypothesis is confirmed, therefore, by all groups.

TABLE IV-22

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY FAMILY INTEGRATION (I) SCORE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

I Score	<u>Catholic</u>		<u>Protestant</u>		<u>Jewish</u>		<u>Total^a</u>	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
0,1	26.5	166	39.0	118	38.5	26	33.6	318
2,3	19.4	402	29.7	239	12.4	113	22.5	769
4	13.0	23	20.0	5	0.0	3	12.9	31 ^b
Total	21.2	591	33.1	362	16.9	142	25.4	1118 ^b
Mean (Inter: Intra)	1.82:1.99		1.68:1.86		1.58:2.15		1.75:1.98	
T (diff.- means)	1.91		1.98		t=3.40		3.95	
P	.06		.05		<.01		<.001	
T (Inter-0,1: Intra-0,1)	1.92		1.93		t=2.68		2.97	
P	.06		.05		<.02		<.01	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are forty-nine respondents from secular backgrounds.

In addition to this general measure of family integration we investigated the relationship between intermarriage and specific items, some of which are included in the I score.⁹ We hypothesize that a significantly

⁹The question concerning whether the respondent felt happy only when at home has already been discussed in the section on satisfaction with parents. (See pp. 54, 55) It is believed that a positive response indicates strong family integration and satisfaction with relationships with parents.

higher percentage of the intermarried will report that they did not live with both their parents until the age of sixteen. The data to test this hypothesis are presented in Table IV-23, below.

TABLE IV-23

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "DID YOU ALWAYS LIVE TOGETHER WITH BOTH YOUR REAL PARENTS UP TO THE TIME YOU WERE SIXTEEN YEARS OLD?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	20.3	384	32.3	229	13.5	114	23.9	731
No	22.7	207	34.6	133	26.3	38	28.2	387
Total	21.2	591	33.1	362	16.9	142	25.4	1118 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	.68		.43		t=1.94		1.59	
P	.49		>.50		<.10		.11	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

In all cases the intermarriage rates of those who responded "no" are higher than the rates of those who responded "yes". This indicates that the percentage of intermarried respondents who did not live with their parents until the age of sixteen is greater than the comparable percentage of the intramarried. The difference is, however, significant only in the Jewish group. The difference in the Total group approaches significance, but in the Protestant and Catholic groups the differences are very small. The hypothesis is only partially supported.

Respondents who did not live with both their parents until the age of sixteen were asked who brought them up. In terms of family integration, the only category which is unambiguous is the category, "brought up in an institution". It is hypothesized that a significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents will report that they were brought up in an institution. The test of this hypothesis, the third specific hypothesis of Subsidiary Hypothesis D, is presented in Table IV-24 below.

TABLE IV-24

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHO BROUGHT YOU UP?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (A DASH INDICATES THERE WERE NO RESPONDENTS IN THAT CATEGORY, A BLANK INDICATES THE "N" WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL CHI-SQUARE.)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Remaining Parent	25.5	153	33.7	89	23.3	30	28.7	278
Grandparent	20.8	24	38.5	26	0.0	3	29.6	53
Step-parent	14.3	28	26.3	19	20.0	5	19.2	52
Foster Parents	-	-	62.5	8	-	-	62.5	8
Aunt or Uncle	23.3	30	30.0	20	50.0	4	23.1	64
Institution	33.3	6	60.0	5	0.0	1	41.7	12
Other	20.9	43	40.0	25	25.0	8	29.6	81
Total	22.7	205	34.6	133	26.3	38	28.2	385 ^b
chi-square	1.8	5d.f.	4.6				6.8	6d.f.
P	<.90		<.70				<.50	

^a Included in the total are nine Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are 731 respondents who lived with both their own parents, forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds, and two respondents who gave no answer. The 'N's' add to more than the total because some respondents gave more than one answer.

It is apparant that too few of the respondents were brought up in institutions for us to be able to adequately test the hypothesis. These few cases do have high intermarriage rates, however. Other than this, the only noteworthy feature of the table is the low intermarriage rates of those who were brought up by step-parents.

The fourth specific hypothesis of this section states: A significantly smaller percentage of the intermarried report that there were relatives other than their parents and siblings living with them. The data to test this hypothesis are presented in Table IV-25, below.

TABLE IV-25

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY "OTHER RELATIVES IN HOME", CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENTS EARLY RELIGION.

Other Relatives in Home?	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
None	21.5	437	37.1	264	20.2	89	27.2	805
Grandparents	14.5	76	22.6	62	6.7	30	16.5	170
Other than G.P's.	24.0	75	22.8	35	17.4	23	25.2	139
Total	20.9	588	33.2	361	16.9	142	25.3	1114 ^b
chi-square	2.4		7.1		2.9		8.5	2 d.f.
P	.30		<.05		<.30		<.02	
T(%Inter:%Intra- G.P.)	1.68		2.10		t= 2.24		3.27	
P	.09		.04		<.05		.001	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are four respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine who came from secular backgrounds.

The results of this test are not as expected. It seems that the presence of other relatives in the home is not relevant to intermarriage unless these relations are the respondent's grandparents. A higher percentage of the intermarried reported that their grandparents lived with them. This was found in all religions, and all of the differences are significant.

A further question in this area asked if the respondent saw any of his relatives fairly often during childhood. It is predicted that a higher percentage of the intermarried respondents will report that they did not see other relatives. The results are found in Table IV-26, below.

TABLE IV-26

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP (AGE 6-18), WERE THERE ANY OTHER RELATIVES WHOM YOU SAW FAIRLY OFTEN?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
No	23.4	122	34.9	86	35.0	20	29.6	233
Yes	20.3	467	32.7	275	13.9	122	24.4	882
Total	21.2	589	33.1	361	16.9	142	25.4	1115 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	.68		.43		t=1.94		1.62	
P	.49		>.50		<.10		.10	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are three respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

Only in the Jewish and the Total groups is the hypothesis supported adequately. In these instances a significantly smaller percentage of the intermarried respondents report that they saw other relatives fairly often. In the other two groups the direction of the difference is the same, but the differences are very small.

As a follow-up to the question just discussed, the respondents who reported that they had seen their relatives fairly often were asked how many families they had seen. It is hypothesized, in the fifth specific hypothesis of this section, that the number of relatives seen by the intermarried is significantly less than the number seen by the intramarried. The data to test this hypothesis are presented in Table IV-27, which is on the next page.

It seems that there is no relationship between the number of relatives seen and interfaith marriage. In none of the groups is the mean number of relatives seen by one group significantly greater than the number seen by the other marriage type group. The conclusion that seems called for, from this table and the one preceding it, is that there is slight relationship between seeing no relatives and intermarriage. Given the fact that relatives were seen, the number seen is unimportant.

TABLE IV-27

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "HOW MANY FAMILIES (OF RELATIVES DID YOU SEE WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP)?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED. A BLANK INDICATES THE "N" WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL CHI-SQUARE.)

Number	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
1-2	19.6	158	36.6	112	16.7	30	26.1	309
3-4	17.2	151	28.8	73	13.9	31	21.6	268
5-6	24.7	85	34.8	46	4.0	25	25.9	162
7+	23.6	72	26.8	41	16.7	24	23.7	138
Total	20.4	466	36.6	272	13.2	121	24.2	877 ^b
Means (Inter:Intra)	3.92:3.68		3.37:3.62		3.75:4.06		3.67:3.73	
T (diff.-means)	1.05		.95		...		...	
P	.29		.34		...		...	
chi-square	2.5		1.8				1.8	3 d.f.
P	<.50		<.70				<.70	

^aIncluded in the total are eighteen Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are 233 respondents who saw no relatives, eight respondents who gave no answer to this question, and forty-nine respondents from secular backgrounds.

This concludes the test of Subsidiary Hypothesis D. Table IV-28, on the following page, summarizes the data bearing upon it.

In terms of the various tests that have been used Subsidiary

TABLE IV-28

SUMMARY TABLE - SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES OF SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS D: THE INTER-MARRIED ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE HAD ONLY TENUOUS TIES TO THEIR IMMEDIATE AND EXTENDED FAMILIES IN THEIR EARLY YEARS. - PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHILE GROWING UP. (A NEGATIVE (-) SIGN INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT IN THE PREDICTED DIRECTION. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THAT THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Specific Variable	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Jewish
1. I Score - 0,1.	.01	.06	.05	.02
2. Did Not Live with Both Parents.	.11	.49	>.50	<.10
3. Grandparents in Home.	.001	.09	.04	<.05
4. Saw Other Relatives Often.	.10	.49	>.50	<.10
5. Number of Relatives Seen.	...	.29	.34	...
Significant in the Predicted Direction - 12				
Not Significant - 8				
Significant in the Opposite Direction - 0				

The number of significant differences in the predicted direction is greater than the number expected if only chance were operating.

Hypothesis D is supported. In all groups there appears to be a relationship between weakness of early family ties and interfaith marriage. The almost complete support in the Jewish group is particularly noteworthy in view of the paucity of significant differences that have been observed previously.

We turn now to a consideration of Subsidiary Hypothesis E.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis E

Subsidiary hypothesis E states: The parents of the intermarried

respondents are more likely to have had a "difficult time" than are the parents of the intramarried respondents. Four specific hypotheses test the validity of this subsidiary hypothesis.

The first specific hypothesis states: A significantly higher percentage of the intermarried respondents report that their parents were in poor health. The data to test this hypothesis are presented in Table IV-29 below.

TABLE IV-29

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "ALL RIGHT, WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP (AGE 6-18) WERE EITHER OF YOUR PARENTS (PARENT SUBSTITUTES) IN POOR HEALTH?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	25.4	169	41.2	114	12.1	58	29.6	348
No	19.6	336	29.6	247	21.0	81	23.8	762
Total	21.3	587	33.2	361	17.3	139	25.6	1110 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	1.50		2.15		t=1.46		2.02	
P	.13		.03		>.20		.04	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are eight respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

With the exception of a difference in the Jewish group, which is not statistically significant, the data support the hypothesis. In the Protestant and Total groups the level of significance is below .05; in the

Catholic group it is not much above .10.

The second specific hypothesis states: The percentage of the intermarried group that reports that their parents had a hard time making ends meet is greater than the percentage of the intramarried who so report. The results of the test of this hypothesis are presented in Table IV-30, below.

TABLE IV-30

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "DURING THE YEARS YOU WERE GROWING UP (AGE 6-18) DID YOUR PARENTS (THOSE WHO BROUGHT YOU UP) EVER HAVE A HARD TIME MAKING ENDS MEET (MAKING A LIVING, BUYING WHAT THE FAMILY NEEDED)?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	22.4	392	36.9	168	15.4	78	26.2	650
No	18.8	197	29.6	192	18.8	64	24.4	464
Total	21.2	589	33.1	360	16.9	142	25.4	1114 ^b
T(% Inter-Yes: % Intra-Yes)	1.47		1.45		t=.53		.68	
P	.14		.15		>.50		.50	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are four respondents who gave no answer and twenty-three respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

The differences are too small to be statistically significant though they are in the expected direction in three groups. The hypothesis receives no support.

A general question concerning parental problems was asked. Our third specific hypothesis predicts that the intermarried will be more likely to report parental problems. No prediction is made as to the differential nature of the problems reported by the marriage types.

TABLE IV-31

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "LOOKING BACK, WHAT WOULD YOU SAY WERE THE CHIEF PROBLEMS THAT YOUR PARENTS (PARENT SUBSTITUTES) HAD TO FACE WHILE YOU WERE GROWING UP (AGE 6-18)?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
None	17.8	101	27.6	76	13.6	22	22.7	207
Unemployment	24.3	37	75.0	12	0.0	2	33.3	51
Work	12.9	31	25.0	16	0.0	3	17.6	51
Financial	21.6	357	41.8	182	15.5	84	27.2	633
Fa/Mo Conflict	35.3	54	46.0	50	0.0	21	34.4	128
Illness	22.0	41	31.8	44	8.3	24	22.7	110
Myself	31.7	41	29.2	24	27.8	18	30.1	83
Siblings	31.3	32	16.0	25	30.0	10	26.5	68
Other Kin	0.0	3	20.0	5	0.0	7	6.7	15
Fa.Inadequate	19.0	21	30.0	10	50.0	4	25.7	35
Mo.Inadequate	50.0	2	25.0	4	0.0	2	33.3	9
Housing	16.7	6	100.0	1	0.0	2	22.2	9
Neighborhood Influence	100.0	1	0.0	1	0.0	3	28.6	7
Other	27.7	65	19.1	47	29.4	17	26.9	134
Total	21.4	575	33.3	357	17.1	140	25.7	1095 ^b

TABLE IV-31-- Continued

	Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Total ^a
T(%Inter-None: %Intra-None)	1.25	1.24	t=.51	1.14
P	.21	.22	>.50	.25

^a Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are twenty-three respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents from secular backgrounds.

In each group, as was predicted, the intramarried reported relatively more frequently that their parents had no problems. The differences are not significant, however.

The respondents were asked whether or not their parents had been the "worrying type". It is predicted that a higher percentage of the inter-married will answer in the affirmative. The data are presented in Table IV-32, on the following page.

None of the differences are statistically significant, but the difference in the Catholic group approaches an acceptable level. The hypothesis receives little support in general.

TABLE IV-32

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WERE EITHER OF YOUR PARENTS (PARENT SUBSTITUTES) THE WORRYING TYPE?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	<u>Catholic</u>		<u>Protestant</u>		<u>Jewish</u>		<u>Total^a</u>	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Yes	23.3	300	35.8	179	15.0	39	26.4	591
No	19.4	278	30.4	174	23.1	100	25.0	501
Total	21.4	578	33.1	253	17.3	139	25.7	1091 ^b
T(%Inter-Yes: %Intra-Yes)	1.49		1.07		$t=1.06$		.61	
P	.14		.28		$<.50$		$>.50$	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-two Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are twenty-six respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

We have now concluded our presentation of the data relevant to the test of Subsidiary Hypothesis E. Table IV-33, on the following page, summarizes the findings.

This is the first subsidiary hypothesis that did not show more significant differences than would be expected on the basis of chance alone. There does not seem to be a relationship between parents having had a "difficult time" and interfaith marriage. The hypothesis is not supported.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis F

The last subsidiary hypothesis of Basic Hypothesis 1 states: The

TABLE IV-33

SUMMARY TABLE - SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES OF SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS E: THE PARENTS OF THE INTERMARRIED RESPONDENTS ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE HAD A "DIFFICULT TIME" THAN ARE THE PARENTS OF THE INTRAMARRIED RESPONDENTS.- PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHILE GROWING UP. (A NEGATIVE (-) SIGN INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT IN THE PREDICTED DIRECTION)

Specific Variable	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Jewish
1. Parents in Poor Health.	.04	.13	.03	>.20(-)
2. Parents Had Hard Time Making Ends Meet.	.50	.14	.15	>.50(-)
3. Parents Had No Problems.	.25	.21	.22	>.50
4. Parents Were the "Worrying Type". . .	>.50	.14	.28	<.50(-)
Significant in the Predicted Direction - 2				
Not Significant - 14				
Significant in the Opposite Direction - 0				

The number of significant differences in the predicted direction is not greater than the number that would be expected if only chance were operating.

intermarried respondents are more likely to have been emancipated from parental influence at time of marriage than are the intramarrried.

We do not have any direct measures of emancipation at time of marriage. Marriage at a late age and having been married previously are taken as indices of emancipation from parents. The test of the first hypothesis; a significantly greater proportion of the intermarried respondents marry, for the first time, at a late age, will be found in Table IV-34, below.

In the Catholic and Jewish groups the hypothesis is borne out. The

TABLE IV-34

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION (ONLY RESPONDENTS WHOSE PRESENT MARRIAGE IS THEIR FIRST MARRIAGE) A BLANK INDICATES THE "N" WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL CHI-SQUARE.)

Age	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Under 20	14.3	77	40.7	27	10.0	10	20.7	116
20-29	18.4	332	32.4	204	10.1	79	23.1	628
30+	25.5	94	24.6	73	26.9	26	26.9	197
Total	19.1	503	31.2	304	13.9	115	23.6	941 ^a
Means (Inter:Intra)	26.7:25.4		26.8:27.4		29.4:26.5		27.1:26.1	
T (diff.-means)	1.74		.07		t = 1.54		.94	
P	.08		.94		> .10		.35	
chi-square	3.9		3.3				1.9 2d.f.	
P	< .20		< .20				< .50	
T(%Inter-30+: %Intra-30+)	1.62		1.44		t = 1.89		1.18	
P	.10		.15		< .10		.24	

^aIncluded in the total are nineteen Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are 137 respondents who were married previously, forty who gave no answer, and forty-nine from secular backgrounds.

percentage of the intermarried who married after thirty is significantly greater than the percentage of the intramarried who married this late in life. In the Total group the direction of the difference is the same, but it is not large enough to be significant. The Protestant group appears to

contradict the hypothesis, however. The proportion of intermarried Protestants who married after thirty is less than the comparable proportion in the intramarried group. The difference is not quite significant, however.

It seems appropriate to present these data in more detail, for the combining of categories serves to hide some interesting facts. Table IV-35, on the next page, presents the data in terms of the categories that appeared on the questionnaire.

The reader's attention is directed to the Protestant group. Though the hypothesis does not gain much additional support from this table, the previously noted trend, which clearly opposed the hypothesis, is now shown to be an artifact of a gross categorization. Protestant intermarriage rates start to rise among those married late in life.

TABLE IV-35

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION (ONLY RESPONDENTS WHOSE PRESENT MARRIAGE IS THEIR FIRST MARRIAGE, A BLANK INDICATES THE "N" WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL CHI-SQUARE. A DASH (-) INDICATES THERE WERE NO CASES IN THAT CATEGORY)

Age	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
15-19	14.3	77	40.7	27	10.0	10	20.7	116
20-24	18.0	210	30.9	110	11.4	44	21.7	368
25-29	18.0	122	34.0	94	8.6	35	25.0	260
30-34	25.5	51	17.1	35	30.0	10	22.9	96
35-44	24.3	37	29.0	31	25.0	16	29.5	88
45-59	33.3	6	42.8	7	-	-	38.5	13
Total	19.1	503	31.2	304	13.9	115	23.6	941 ^b
Means (Inter:Intra)	26.7:25.4		26.8:27.4		29.4:26.5		27.1:26.1	
T(diff.-means)	1.74		.07		t = 1.54		.94	
P	.08		> .50		> .10		.35	
chi-square	3.9		5.4				4.2 4d.f. ^c	
P	< .50		.30				< .50	

^aIncluded in the total are nineteen Eastern Orthodox respondents who are not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are 137 respondents who were married previously, forty who gave no answer, and forty-nine from secular backgrounds.

^cThe two last categories were combined for the calculation of the chi-square.

Our second specific hypothesis of this section states: A significantly greater percentage of the intermarried have been married previously. The

data to test this hypothesis are presented below.

TABLE IV-36

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY NUMBER OF PREVIOUS MARRIAGES, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

No. of Previous Marriages	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
None	18.7	524	32.1	318	15.1	119	23.8	981
One or More	42.5	54	45.0	40	27.3	22	39.5	119
One	42.3	52	44.4	36	23.8	21	38.4	112
Total	20.9	578	33.5	358	17.0	141	25.4	1100 ^b
T(%Inter-None: %Intra-None)	3.25		1.54		t=1.20		3.28	
P	.001		.12		>.10		< .001	

^a Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are eighteen respondents who gave no answer, and forty-nine who came from secular backgrounds.

In all groups the percentage of the intermarried who had been married previously is greater than the comparable percentage of the intra-married. In the Catholic and Total groups the differences are significant; in the other two groups they are considerable, but they do not reach the .10 level.

Table IV-37, on the next page, summarizes the data upon Subsidiary Hypothesis F.

In all groups, with the exception of the Protestant group, the

TABLE IV-37

SUMMARY TABLE - SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES OF SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS F: THE INTER-MARRIED RESPONDENTS ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN EMANCIPATED FROM PARENTAL INFLUENCE AT TIME OF MARRIAGE THAN ARE THE INTRAMARRIED. - PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHILE GROWING UP. (A NEGATIVE (-) SIGN INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS NOT IN THE PREDICTED DIRECTION)

Specific Variable	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Jewish
1. Married After 30	.24	.10	.15(-)	<.10
2. Married Previously	<.001	.001	.12	>.10
Significant in the Predicted Direction -5				
Not Significant - 3				
Significant in the Opposite Direction - 0				

The number of significant differences in the predicted direction is greater than the number expected if only chance were operating.

hypothesis is supported. The failure to find the predicted relationship in the Protestant group on the age at marriage variable may be in part a function of the grossness of the categorization.

The Test of the Miscellaneous Molecular Variables

The questionnaire contained several questions concerning childhood relationships which are not subsumable under any of the subsidiary hypotheses. The tests of the hypotheses based upon these questions will be found below.

There were eight questions which asked the respondents whether or not they feared a variety of things when they were young. These questions make up the Childhood Fears Simple Score used by the Midtown Project. The

items included are listed below: (A point was given for each "much" response.)

"It's also natural for children to be worried or afraid of a lot of different things. Sometimes this affects a child's appetite and health. Thinking back to your childhood (6-9 years old), how afraid were you of such things as these. For instance:

1. As a child how much were you afraid of strangers? Would you say: you were not at all afraid, a little afraid, or much afraid?
2. As a child, how much were you afraid of thunderstorms?
3. As a child, how much were you afraid of being left alone?
4. As a child, how much were you afraid of being on high places?
5. As a child, how much were you afraid of large animals?
6. As a child, how much were you afraid of being laughed at by other children?
7. As a child, how much were you afraid of family quarrels?
8. As a child, how much were you afraid of getting bawled out?"

In line with our general approach, we hypothesize that the intermarried respondents will have higher scores on the Childhood Fears Simple Score than will the intramarried respondents. The results of the test of this hypothesis are presented in Table IV-38, on the next page.

The hypothesis is not supported. Though, in all but the Jewish group, the mean score of those who intermarried is higher than that of the intramarried, the T tests indicate that none of the differences is significant.

The respondents were asked their feelings about school when they were children. It is predicted that the intermarried will report that they disliked or hated school relatively more frequently than will the intramarried respondents. The data bearing on this hypothesis are to be

TABLE IV-38

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY CHILDHOOD FEARS SIMPLE SCORE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (A DASH (-) INDICATES THAT THERE WERE NO RESPONDENT'S IN THAT CATEGORY)

Score	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
0	21.1	256	31.0	190	19.2	52	26.0	511
1	20.0	130	38.4	73	17.1	35	25.9	242
2	15.7	102	29.2	48	9.7	31	18.3	185
3	30.5	59	39.3	28	18.8	16	31.7	104
4	22.2	18	28.3	14	0.0	2	27.8	35
5	27.3	11	33.3	6	66.7	3	25.0	20
6	15.4	13	100.0	1	0.0	3	17.6	17
7	100.0	2	50.0	2	-	-	75.0	4
Total	21.2	591	33.1	362	16.9	142	25.4	1118 ^b
Mean (Inter:Intra)	1.35:1.20		1.07: .95		1.29:1.57		1.19:1.14	
T (diff.-means)	1.01		.76		t = 1.08		.51	
P	.31		.45		> .10		> .50	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are forty-nine respondents who came from a secular background.

found in Table IV-39, on the following page.

This hypothesis receives little support. In the Protestant group the percentage of intermarried who report they disliked or hated school

TABLE IV-39

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "SOME CHILDREN LIKE SCHOOL, OTHERS DON'T. AS A CHILD, HOW DID YOU FEEL ABOUT GOING TO SCHOOL? WOULD YOU SAY YOU LIKED SCHOOL VERY MUCH, LIKED IT ALL RIGHT, DISLIKED IT, OR HATED IT?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Very Much	22.0	177	29.8	141	17.8	45	26.1	375
All Right	22.6	266	32.5	163	18.3	71	25.6	507
Disliked or Hated	16.8	131	48.0	50	12.0	25	24.3	210
Total	21.1	574	33.6	354	17.0	141	25.5	1092 ^b
T(%Inter:%Intra-Disliked,Hated)	1.46		2.16		t = 1.82		.48	
P	.24		.03		< .10		> .50	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are twenty-six respondents who gave no answer or never attended school and forty-nine respondents from secular backgrounds.

is significantly greater than the comparable percentage of the intramarried group. A significant difference in the Jewish group opposes the hypothesis.

The respondents were asked if they dated more often, less often, or about the same as other teenagers. We hypothesize that a significantly higher percentage of the intermarried will report that they dated less frequently than others. The data to test this hypothesis are presented on the page following this.

The hypothesis is supported only in the Jewish group. In the other

TABLE IV-40

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "NOW AS TO WHEN YOU WERE A TEEN-AGER, SAY 13-18 YEARS OLD. IN THOSE YEARS, DID YOU HAVE DATES WITH GIRLS (BOYS) MORE OFTEN OR LESS OFTEN THAN MOST BOYS (GIRLS) OF YOUR AGE?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS (...)) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
More Often	23.7	59	43.9	41	9.1	22	29.1	127
About Same	17.6	238	30.0	160	12.5	56	22.4	467
Less Often	23.4	279	33.5	155	23.0	61	27.1	505
Total	20.6	579	33.1	356	16.5	139	25.3	1097 ^b
chi-square	3.1		2.5		3.7		3.4	2d.f.
P	< .30		< .30		< .20		< .20	
T(%Inter:%Intra- Less Often	1.33		...		t = 1.84		1.27	
P	.18		...		< .10		.20	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are twenty-one respondents who gave no answer and forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

groups the differences are very small, but they are in the predicted direction.

The marriage groups were compared for birth position of the respondents. The author cannot make a prediction as to the outcome of this comparison. Table IV-41, below, presents the data.

The consistency to be found in this table is quite surprising. The

TABLE IV-41

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONDENT'S BIRTH POSITION, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Birth Position	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Oldest	23.0	126	26.5	83	7.5	40	21.7	253
Youngest	27.4	73	39.4	66	31.6	19	33.9	165
No Siblings	23.7	38	33.3	42	18.4	13	28.1	96
Other	18.9	354	33.9	171	18.6	70	24.2	604
Total	21.2	591	33.1	362	16.9	142	24.1	1118 ^b
chi-square	3.5		3.9		6.4		8.9	3d.f.
P	<.50		<.30		<.10		<.05	
T(%Inter:%Intra-Youngest)	1.28		1.17		t=1.50		2.51	
P	.20		.24		>.10		.01	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are forty-nine respondents who came from secular backgrounds.

differences are not large enough to be significant in several instances, but all religions show the same trend if we exclude the "other category. The group of respondents who were the first-born always have the lowest intermarriage rates, and those who were the youngest in their families always have the highest rate. The intermarriage rates of respondents who had no siblings are intermediate in each case.

The data on the miscellaneous molecular variables are summarized in Table IV-42, below.

TABLE IV-42

SUMMARY TABLE - MISCELLANEOUS MOLECULAR VARIABLES - PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHILE GROWING UP. (A NEGATIVE (-) SIGN INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT IN THE PREDICTED DIRECTION. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Variable	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cath.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
1. Childhood Fears Simple Score.	>.50	.31	.45	>.10(-)
2. Disliked or Hated School.	>.50(-)	.24(-)	.03	<.10(-)
3. Dated Less Often than Others.	.20	.18	...	<.10
4. Birth Order - Youngest	.01	.20	.24	>.10

The Test of the Molar Variables

We now turn our attention to a group of comparisons on a somewhat different level. The variables to be considered have been characterized as being on a molar level. By this is meant that they do not refer directly to relationships between the respondent and others. These variables are concerned with membership in certain groups or social categories. It is hoped that it will be possible to relate variations in these variables to variations in the molecular variables. For the present, however, we will merely present the data.

The first comparison is between the four religious groups. The question to be answered concerns whether or not there are differences in the intermarriage rates of the various religions. Table IV-43, below, pre-

sents the results of this comparison.

TABLE IV-43

DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S AND SPOUSE'S RELIGION WHEN GROWING UP. (A DASH(-) INDICATES THERE WERE NO RESPONDENTS IN THAT CATEGORY.)

R's Religion	Spouse's Religion									
	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		E. Orth.		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Catholic	469	78.6	107	17.9	14	2.3	7	1.2	597	100.0
Protestant	110	28.3	257	66.1	18	4.6	4	1.0	389	100.0
Jewish	14	8.9	15	9.5	129	81.6	-	-	158	100.0
Eastern Orth.	11	47.8	3	13.0	1	4.3	8	34.8	23	100.0
Total	604	51.8	382	32.7	162	13.9	19	1.6	1167	100.0
chi-square	50.0	9d.f.								
P	<.001									

The Protestant respondents have a higher intermarriage rate (33.9) than the Catholics (21.4) and Jews (18.4). The Catholic rate is slightly higher than the rate for the Jewish group. The T tests indicate that the Protestant and Catholic rates and the Protestant and Jewish rates are significantly different. The difference between Catholics and Jews is not significant. Because of their small numbers we can put little faith in any findings concerning the Eastern Orthodox and "other" respondents. We may note their very high intermarriage rate (62.5), however.

Additional information concerning the pattern of interfaith marriage is contained in the table. Of the interfaith marriages 217, or 71.4 percent, are marriages between a Protestant and a Catholic. Thirty-three, 10.8 per-

cent, are between a Protestant and a Jew; and twenty-eight marriages, 9.2 percent, were contracted by persons of the Jewish and Catholic faiths.

The next concern is a comparison of the marriage type groups as to the education of the respondent's father. This is the first of a series of comparisons using different measures of socio-economic status (SES). The results of this comparison will be found in Table IV-44, below.

TABLE IV-44

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONDENT'S FATHER'S EDUCATION CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Father's Ed.	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Grammar Sch. or Less	18.0	356	44.4	142	12.1	66	25.0	575
High School	26.6	79	25.0	68	22.0	41	24.9	189
College	38.7	31	32.9	79	35.0	20	35.6	135
Graduate School	20.0	18	16.3	57	16.7	12	25.0	76
Total	21.9	484	34.0	332	18.7	139	26.5	975 ^b
chi-square	17.4		7.9		3.3	2d.f.	6.3	3d.f.
P	<.001		<.05		<.50		<.10	

^a Included in the total are twenty Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are 192 respondents who answered "don't know" or gave no answer.

The reader's attention is directed to the Total column first. Despite a significant chi-square there is no trend observable. The three other columns reveal that the reason for no trend appearing in the Total

column lies in the fact that there are two trends which go in opposite directions. They, therefore, cancel each other out when combined in the Total group. In the Catholic group there is a consistent and significant trend toward increasing intermarriage with increasing education. The Jews, with the exception of the postgraduates who are few in number, show the same trend though the differences are not significant. The Protestants, with the exception of the group whose fathers were college educated, show a reversal of the progression observed in the other two religions. In this instance the grammar school group has the highest intermarriage rate and the graduate school group the lowest. The result is significant below the .05 level.

If the college and graduate school groups are combined, a procedure that is probably advisable on several counts, the trends become even more consistent. There is now only one deviant class. From low to high education, the intermarriage rates are: Catholic: 18.0, 26.6, 42.9; Jewish: 12.1, 22.0, 28.1; Protestant: 44.4, 25.0, 27.0.

A second indicator of the respondent's status during his earlier years is the Father's SES index constructed by the Midtown Project. On the basis of the father's occupation and education a twelve category scale was constructed. For our purposes the three category version of the scale is adequate. The results of the comparison of the marriage types are presented on the following page.

As might be expected, since the index includes the respondent's father's education as one of the items, this table gives results similar to those obtained in the previous table. The Total group does not show a consistent trend though there are some significant differences. The Catholics show increasing intermarriage with increasing status, and the Protestants

TABLE IV-45

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONDENT'S FATHER'S SES, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Father's SES	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total*	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Lower	16.6	187	42.8	70	23.5	17	25.5	282
Middle	18.2	285	37.8	111	6.1	33	22.6	433
Upper	36.0	125	28.7	208	21.3	108	29.6	452
Total	21.4	597	33.9	389	18.4	158	26.0	1167
chi-square	20.3		5.5		3.8		7.7	2d.f.
P	< .001		< .10		< .30		< .20	

* Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

show the opposite trend. The Jewish group, however, does not show significant or consistent results.

A third indicator of status is the respondent's education. The results of the comparison of the groups on this variable will be found in Table IV-46, on the next page.

The data of this table are quite similar to the findings presented in the previous one. There is no trend in the Total and Jewish groups, and the Catholic and Protestant show consistent trends in opposite directions.

It is the author's belief that educational mobility, as well as education, per se, may have a significant relationship to intermarriage. In

TABLE IV-46

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

R's Education.	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total*	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Gram. Sch. or Less	15.2	276	39.8	108	25.0	16	22.9	406
High School	22.3	251	40.9	149	12.8	47	28.4	454
College	40.0	50	22.1	95	22.7	66	26.8	216
Grad. School	50.0	20	18.9	37	13.7	24	26.4	91
Total	21.4	597	33.9	389	18.4	158	26.0	1167
Mean (Inter:Intra)	11.0: 9.2		10.8: 12.3		13.6: 13.9		11.2: 10.8	
T(diff.-means)	5.35		3.77		t=.38		.86	
P	< .001		.001		> .50		.38	
chi-square	26.5		14.4		1.5		3.6	3d.f.
P	< .001		< .01		< .70		< .50	

*Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

this case we may put forth a hypothesis. We will predict that educational mobility, in either direction but particularly upward, will be associated with high intermarriage rates. Table IV-47, on the next page, presents the data to test this hypothesis.

The data do not provide support for the hypothesis. Only in the Catholic group do we find a significant difference. In this case those who have moved up two steps educationally from their fathers have significantly

TABLE IV-47^a

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Mobility	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Plus 2 or More ^c	30.7	101	30.1	73	16.2	68	28.4	250
Plus One	13.4	119	39.6	48	23.8	21	22.0	191
No Mobility	19.9	206	40.4	109	5.3	19	26.0	339
Minus One	33.3	24	14.6	41	37.5	8	24.0	75
Minus 2 or More	26.7	30	31.7	41	22.2	9	29.3	82
Total	21.7	480	33.3	312	17.6	125	25.9	937 ^b
T(%Inter:%Intra- Plus 2 or More)	2.28		.85		t = .45		1.01	—
P	.02		.40		> .50		.31	
T(%Inter:%Intra- Minus 2 or More)	.66		.25		t = .37		.68	
P	> .50		> .50		> .50		.50	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body or the table.

^bOmitted from the table are 181 respondents about whom sufficient information was not available, and forty-nine from secular backgrounds.

^cThe number of steps a person is mobile is exemplified by the following: a person who started high school but did not finish would be plus one if his father had finished grammar school, and plus two if his father had not finished grammar school. A person who finished high school would be rated plus one if his father had not finished high school.

higher intermarriage rates.¹⁰ In all other cases the differences are too small and inconsistent to be notable.

¹⁰It is probable that this finding should not be attributed to the effect of educational mobility. As noted previously, those Catholics with considerable education are likely to intermarry. Those Catholics who were upwardly mobile educationally are likely to have considerable education. Education rather than educational mobility probably accounts for the results.

The next molar variable to be considered is the population of the area in which the respondent grew up. Table IV-48, below, presents the data.

TABLE IV-48

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RURAL-URBAN CHILDHOOD OF RESPONDENT, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE TOO FEW CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC. THREE DOTS (...) INDICATE THERE WAS NO DIFFERENCE.

Population	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Farm	8.4	83	33.3	30	100.0	1	18.6	118
Under 1,000	25.7	44	32.2	31	0.0	3	25.0	80
1,-10,000	25.4	67	29.1	55	0.0	6	26.4	129
10,-100,000	34.5	55	32.2	62	0.0	15	30.0	137
100,-500,000	29.6	27	33.3	36	16.7	10	29.3	75
500,000	28.0	82	28.6	77	20.4	35	28.0	211
New York	19.3	233	40.6	91	21.3	59	24.9	402
Total	21.6	591	33.3	382	17.9	156	25.9	1152 ^b
chi-square	18.0		3.4				5.6	n.d.f.
P	< .01		< .80				< .50	
T(%Inter-Farm: %Intra-Farm)	4.11		...				2.24	
P	< .001		...				.02	

^a Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are fifteen respondents who gave no answer.

The differences in the Protestant group are very small with the exception of the rather high rate for Protestant respondents who grew up in New York City. Little can be said about the Jewish group because most of the categories are too small. A significant tendency for farm-bred respondents to intramarry appears in the Catholic and Total groups. There is no clear trend in any of the columns, however.

The next table presents the relationship between the respondent's "generation" and interfaith marriage. Foreign-born respondents are considered first generation Americans; the children of foreign-born parents, second generation, etc.

TABLE IV-49

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY GENERATION, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED)

Generation	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Generation 1	17.6	244	33.3	135	12.8	47	23.5	442
Generation 2	23.2	246	45.0	80	21.9	73	28.1	406
Generation 3	22.3	76	29.8	67	14.7	34	23.7	177
Generation 4 +	36.7	30	29.0	107	66.7	3	31.4	140
Total	21.5	596	33.9	389	18.5	157	26.1	1165 ^b
chi-square	6.3		6.1		1.6		5.1	3d.f.
P	< .10		< .20		< .70		< .20	
T(%Inter:%Intra- Gen. I)	1.92		...		t = 1.32		1.64	
P	.06		...		> .10		.10	

^a Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are two respondents who gave no answer.

The table does not show linear relationships between generation and interfaith marriage rates, though the first generation respondents have low rates and fourth generation respondents have high rates in all groups except the Protestant. If generations two and three are combined, as below, some trends may be observed.

TABLE IV-50

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY GENERATION, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.
(A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE TOO FEW CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL CHI-SQUARE)

Generation	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Generation 1	17.6	244	33.3	135	12.8	47	23.5	442
Generations 2&3	23.0	322	38.1	147	19.6	107	26.8	583
Generation 4 +	36.7	30	29.0	107	66.7	3	31.4	140
Total	21.5	596	33.9	389	18.5	157	26.1	1165 ^b
chi-square	7.6		2.2				4.0	2d.f.
P	.02		<.50				.25	

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the table

^bOmitted from the table are two respondents who gave no answer.

Use of this more gross categorization reveals what appear to be linear relationships between generation and intermarriage rates in all groups except the Protestant. Only in the Catholic group is it statistically significant, however.

Comparisons of the various ethnic groups represented in the sample

give some significant results. The data are presented in Table IV-51, below.

TABLE IV-51

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY RESPONDENT'S ETHNIC BACKGROUND, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHEN GROWING UP. (A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE TOO FEW CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL CHI-SQUARE)

Ethnicity	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^b	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
U. S. ^a	36.7	30	28.7	107	66.7	3	31.4	140
Germany-Austria	29.5	105	42.7	116	23.9	46	34.1	267
Ireland	12.5	144	25.0	12	0.0	0	13.5	156
Italy	15.3	111	0.0	1	100.0	1	8.4	113
Hungary	11.8	34	50.0	4	14.3	21	15.2	59
Czech.	17.5	63	31.8	22	20.0	5	24.5	94
Russia, Poland etc.	43.5	23	50.0	2	13.1	61	25.8	97
Puerto Rico	10.5	19	100.0	1	0.0	0	15.0	20
England etc.	15.4	13	31.2	48	33.3	3	28.1	64
Other	43.6	39	30.0	70	9.1	11	34.4	128
Total	21.0	581	34.0	383	18.5	151	26.0	1138 ^c
chi-square	40.7						40.0	9d.f.
P	<.001						<.001	

^aAll persons who were fourth generation American, or above, were classified as U.S. ethnicity.

^bIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^cOmitted from the table are twenty-nine respondents who gave no answer.

In the Total column we see that the following ethnic groups have intermarriage rates appreciably above the rate for the sample as a whole: U.S., Germany-Austria, "Other". Ethnic groups with low intermarriage rates are: Irish, Italians, Hungarians, Puerto Ricans.

Among the Catholics we find that the U.S. group, the Germans, the Russians, and "Others" have high rates. The Irish, Italians, Hungarians, Czechs, Puerto Ricans, and English have rates below the rate for the group as a whole.

The Germans are the only Protestant group, with any appreciable numbers, which has a rate above that of the group as a whole. None of the groups are much below the rate for Protestants as a whole.

The Jews are represented, in adequate numbers, by three ethnic groups, Germans, Hungarians, and Russians. The rate for the Germans is above the group rate; the rates for Hungarians and Russians are below the group rate.

The final comparison of this section involves controlling for the sex of the respondent. Though in the sample as a whole the intermarriage rates of men and women should be equal, it is possible that within a single religion one or the other of the sexes will show higher rates. The data on this point are presented on the following page.

The figures in the Total column cast doubt on the representativeness of the sample in regard to sex. We must assume that in the area the proportion of men who intermarried is equal to the proportion of women who intermarried. In our sample the intermarriage rate of men is significantly higher than that of women. The conclusion that seems called for is that

TABLE IV-52

INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY SEX OF RESPONDENT, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Sex	<u>Catholic</u>		<u>Protestant</u>		<u>Jewish</u>		<u>Total*</u>	
	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N
Male	22.1	249	38.1	155	25.4	67	29.5	485
Female	21.0	348	31.2	234	13.2	91	23.6	682
Total	21.4	597	33.9	389	18.4	158	26.0	1167
chi-square	.16		1.72		4.34		5.28	1d.f.
P	<.70		<.20		<.05		<.05	

*Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

intermarried women are underrepresented in the sample.¹¹

In view of this, the data with religion controlled are not very valuable. All that may be said is that Jewish men seem to be more likely to intermarry than Jewish women.

This concludes our presentation of the data referring to the molar factors. Table IV-53, on the next page, summarizes our findings.

In all groups, with the exception of the Jewish group, there are many

¹¹The most plausible explanation seems to be that intermarried women had a high refusal rate. If this is the case it appears, from the results of other studies and our own data, that it is primarily Catholic intermarried women who refused to answer the questionnaire.

TABLE IV-53

SUMMARY TABLE - MOLAR VARIABLES - PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBSERVED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHILE GROWING UP. (THREE DOTS (...)) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THAT THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED. A BLANK SPACE INDICATES THE "N" WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW FOR CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC.)

Molar Variables	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Jewish
1. Religion	.001			
2. Father's Education	<.10	<.001	<.05	<.50
3. Father's SES	<.20	<.001	<.10	<.30
4. Respondent's Education	<.50	<.001	<.01	<.70
5. Educational Mobility - +2 Steps or More	.31	.02	.40	>.50
6. Rural-Urban Childhood - Farm	.02	<.001	...	
7. Generation - 1st Generation	.10	.06	...	>.10
8. Ethnicity	<.001	<.001		
9. Sex	<.05	<.70	<.20	<.05

significant differences . These will be discussed, particularly in regard to their relevance for the subsidiary hypotheses, in the next chapter.

The Test of Basic Hypothesis I

Now that we have presented the data on the premarital factors we will consider their relevance for the test of the first basic hypothesis. We have evaluated each of the subsidiary hypotheses; on the basis of these materials should Basis Hypothesis I be accepted or rejected? Table IV-54, summarizes the evaluations of each subsidiary hypothesis as an aid in making this decision.

Upon the basis of the evaluations of the subsidiary hypothesis we

TABLE IV-54

SUMMARY TABLE - EVALUATIONS OF SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESES OF BASIC HYPOTHESIS I: PEOPLE WHO INTERMARRY DIFFER FROM THOSE WHO INTRAMARRY ON PREMARITAL VARIABLES THAT MAY BE RELEVANT FOR MARITAL OUTCOME; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION WHILE GROWING UP. (A DASH (-) INDICATES THAT THE SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS WAS NOT SUPPORTED, AN ASTERISK (*) INDICATES THAT THE HYPOTHESIS RECEIVED SOME SUPPORT. TWO ASTERISKS (**) INDICATE GOOD SUPPORT FOR THE HYPOTHESIS. THE GENERAL EVALUATION IS BASED UPON THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES OBTAINED IN RELATION TO THE NUMBER EXPECTED UPON THE BASIS OF CHANCE ALONE.)

Subsidiary Hypothesis	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Jewish	Gen. Eval.
A. Tie to Religion	**	*	*	-	**
B Dissatisfaction in Early Years	**	**	-	-	**
C. Family Strife	*	**	-	-	*
D. Family Integration	**	*	*	**	**
E. Parents Had "Difficult Time"	-	-	-	-	-
F. Emancipation From Family	*	**	-	**	**

would conclude that the first basic hypothesis has been adequately supported. The degree of support varies, however, in terms of the group and variable involved. The greatest support for the hypothesis is to be found in the Catholic and Total groups. The support in the Protestant and Jewish group is adequate only for two factors. Subsidiary Hypotheses A, D, and F received the most validation; Hypothesis E received none.

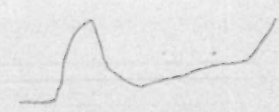
These materials suggest the ways in which Basic Hypothesis I might be revised in the direction of greater specificity. Separate hypotheses for each religious group may be needed, and a specification of the kind of premarital variable being considered is clearly indicated. We suggest the following for further testing:

1) Catholic intermarried respondents differ from Catholic intramarried respondents in terms of their early tie to religion and their premarital relationships with their families.

2) Protestant intermarried respondents differ from Protestant intramarried respondents in terms of the strength of their premarital ties to religion and their families.

3) Jewish intermarried respondents differ from Jewish intramarried respondents in terms of the strength of their premarital ties to their families.

In Chapter V we will attempt a general explanation and interpretation of our findings on the premarital factors.



CHAPTER V

Interpretation of Premarital Data

The tests of the subsidiary hypotheses of Basic Hypothesis I show that the intermarried respondents differ from the intramarried in several ways. The purpose of this chapter is to account for these differences. Why is there, for example, an association between loose family ties and a high intermarriage rate?

The answers to such questions will take a somewhat unusual form. The data on the incidence of interfaith marriage indicate that these marriages are less frequent than would be expected upon the basis of an hypothesis that chance alone determines the religious composition of couples. Therefore it seems appropriate to first ask, what are the barriers to interfaith marriages? Then we can show the relevance of the factors we have discovered, by showing that for people with these characteristics one of the bars to intermarriage was not present.

We conceive of barriers to intermarriage as being of two kinds. Certain attitudes that people hold are such that they would be unlikely to marry someone outside of their faith. In addition, there are external forces that prevent many intermarriages among people who are not particularly opposed to them. We shall try to show the relevance of our data at both¹ these levels.

To recapitulate: In order to interpret our data we propose to answer

¹ We shall refer to these two levels as the attitudinal level and the level of external pressures.

two questions. First, what are the sources of the attitudes and external pressures that act as barriers to interfaith marriages? Secondly, how do the factors isolated operate to remove these barriers?

The test of Subsidiary Hypothesis A indicates that people who had parents who were not religious are more likely to intermarry than are those who came from religious backgrounds. What is the relevance of this factor?

The doctrines of all religions oppose interfaith marriages, and this represents a significant bar to intermarriage. However, if the respondent's parents were not religious it is unlikely that these doctrines would have led to attitudes opposing interfaith marriage. We assume that secular parents do not teach their children the attitudes of the church concerning intermarriage.

Secular parents also represent the removal of a bar to intermarriage at the level of external pressures. We believe that parental attitudes prevent many intermarriages. Since secular parents are not likely to hold such attitudes, intermarriage is facilitated among their children.

We would not predict that all persons coming from secular backgrounds would intermarry. Many such people oppose these marriages, and many of them are subject to pressures which prevent them. In addition, many of them do not have the "opportunity" to intermarry. Our problem is to explain why people who come from secular backgrounds have intermarriage rates which more nearly approach the rates that would be expected on the basis of chance alone. We believe that the analysis presented above indicates why this is so.

The rest of this discussion refers only to persons who had at least one religious parent. All cases that came from a secular background were

removed from consideration because the analysis to follow makes sense only if the respondent's parents had an interest in religion. As each of the other factors are discussed, intermarried respondents with that characteristic will be removed.

The relevance of having intermarried parents was not considered in Chapter IV because its significance was not appreciated until that section had been completed. However, if our analysis of the secular background variable is correct we would expect that persons whose parents were intermarried would be more likely to intermarry than would those who had intramarried parents.

We discovered that 19.1 percent of the intermarried respondents had intermarried parents, and 14.1 percent of the intramarried respondents had parents who had intermarried. The difference is significant at the .12 level. Though the difference does not quite reach the predetermined level for significance, we have fair certainty that there is a true difference in the universe.

The relevance of this finding is similar to that presented above. Intermarried parents are not likely to instill in their children attitudes which are in opposition to interfaith marriage. Intermarried parents are also not likely to oppose their children's intermarriage.

About 19 percent of the intermarried respondents who had intermarried parents reported that their parents argued frequently. A situation such as this might lead to anti-intermarriage attitudes. However, each of these respondents chose a mate who had the same religion as one of his parents. These marriages were perhaps not viewed as intermarriages by the persons involved.

Data gathered for Subsidiary Hypotheses D and F indicated that the intermarriage rates of persons who were presumably emancipated from parental control at the time of marriage were high.² What is the importance of this finding?

We believe that this factor is pertinent only at one of the levels being considered. We do not think that emancipation from parents has much relevance for attitudes favoring or opposing interfaith marriage.³ However, if parental opposition is an important pressure standing in the way of intermarriage, when parents' wishes are not considered in choice of a mate intermarriages are obviously facilitated. We believe that persons having the characteristics listed in the second footnote are not likely to be influenced by parental wishes when they choose a mate.

One of the indices requires a little more consideration. Some people who marry late in life do so because of an overattachment to their parents. Our explanation is obviously not adequate for these respondents. Nine of the twenty-six intermarried respondents who married after thirty-five give some evidence of overdependence upon their parents. For these people our index of emancipation is not adequate. Their intermarriage cannot be explained upon the basis of their late marriage.

²The indices of emancipation from parental control that were used are: respondent had been married previously, respondent was married after thirty-five, and a score of zero on the Family Integration (I) Score. The latter index implies that there were never very strong ties that required breaking.

³Degree of family integration may be of some relevance. If the respondent had only weak ties to his family, they may not have been able to instill in him anti-intermarriage attitudes.

The remaining subsidiary hypotheses all indicate that the early life of the intermarried respondents was less satisfying than was the case for the intramarried.⁴ How can we account for this association?

Since we have considered the relevance of intermarried parents, we are limiting our discussion of the present factor to cases in which the respondent's parents were intramarried. On one of the levels being considered the problem is not too great. Taking a hint from Kirkpatrick's Basic Hypothesis,⁵ we may point out that an unsatisfactory childhood may operate, in a intramarried family, to produce attitudes favorable to intermarriage. Certainly this proposal is so far removed from Kirkpatrick's hypothesis that his formulation may be right and ours wrong. However, we are faced with the fact that the intermarried were less satisfied in childhood. An extension of Kirkpatrick's hypothesis provides an understandable mechanism to explain the occurrence of this finding.

On the level of external pressures our explanation may be less adequate. The relevant bar is, as previously, effective parental opposition to interfaith marriage. An unsatisfying childhood may operate to remove this bar by making parental wishes irrelevant for the choice of a mate. Perhaps

⁴ The relationship was not very strong, it will be remembered. This perhaps accounts for the difficulty encountered in interpreting the data for these hypotheses.

⁵ The hypothesis is as follows: "Individuals tend to seek continued fulfillment of aspirations which have been created and satisfied in the course of prior family experience, and they likewise tend to seek with special vigor the fulfillment of aspirations which have been frustrated in prior roles." See Clifford Kirkpatrick, The Family as Process and Institution, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955), pp. 186, 187 et passim.

persons who did not get along well with their parents are less likely to allow parental desires to affect their choice of a mate. This explanation is set forth very tentatively. There is a possibility that this factor is not at all relevant at the level of external factors.

We have now considered all of our subsidiary hypotheses. We have not, however, explained all the cases of interfaith marriage. Almost 40 percent of the intermarried respondents do not have any of the characteristics discussed. Though we did not expect to be able to explain all cases at the attitudinal level, we did think we would succeed in accounting for all the intermarriages at the level of external pressures. Why was this not possible?

One of the important reasons for our failure is that we have certainly not isolated all the relevant considerations. Secondly, since we are using fallible indices, we have probably failed to eliminate all cases that might have been removed. Though we have no way of knowing it, some of the remaining cases were not faced with effective parental opposition. A deviant case analysis would seem indicated at this point. Unfortunately, we do not have any additional material to use in such an analysis. We must substitute speculation for analysis.

Under what circumstances might there be a lack of parental opposition even when the parents are religious and intramarried? We may briefly suggest the following possibilities: a) acceptability of the proposed spouse as an individual overcoming potential opposition to intermarriage, b) parental attitude that choice of a spouse is solely the concern of the offspring, c) in the case of Catholics, a parental attitude that use of the institutional procedures for valid mixed marriage makes the match acceptable,

d) conversion of the spouse makes the marriage acceptable and perhaps desired, e) a strong commitment on the part of the parents to the "liberal ideology" makes religious objections unimportant, f) unavailability of an acceptable mate of the same religion.

How might parental opposition be ineffective even if the respondent was relatively young, never before married, integrated into the family, and satisfied with his relationships with his parents during adolescence? We suggest the following possibilities: a) the situation had changed by time of marriage so that the respondent was no longer integrated, b) separation of the respondent from his parents by means of death or distance, c) a strong conviction that mate choice is a personal matter and the psychological maturity to back it up.

In addition to coming from a secular home, dissatisfaction with childhood relationships, and having parents who were intermarried what other factors would tend to make for attitudes favorable to intermarriage? We suggest the following: a) rejection of religion by the respondent, b) commitment to the democratic ideology, c) unwilling but deep involvement, d) inability to find an acceptable mate within his religion, e) unacceptability of the respondent to members of his religion, f) desire to hide background or rise in status through marriage, g) a late rebellion against parents.

All of the possibilities suggested above refer to conditions existing at the time of mate choice. Our data can, therefore, tell us nothing of the relevance or importance of these factors. We only have, unfortunately, information regarding the present situation and the childhood and adolescence periods. In general, our analysis must await further research before it can be proved or disproved.

Interpretation of Data on Molar Variables

In Chapter IV we suggested that our subsidiary hypotheses would gain indirect support if we could explain differences in the molar variables in terms of differences on the molecular factors. This will be attempted here.

In general, we discovered that it was possible to "make sense" of the molar differences in terms of the molecular factors. Most of the observed differences seem predictable on the basis of these variables.

For example, the high Protestant intermarriage rate would have been predicted, we believe. In comparison with Catholics they are: a) more likely to come from secular backgrounds, b) more likely to have intermarried parents, c) more likely to have low I scores, d) more likely to marry for the first time after thirty-five, e) more likely to have been married previously. Of the factors on which we have some information only "unhappy childhood" is equally frequent in the two groups.

Several of the variables about which we speculated would also lead to a prediction of greater intermarriage for Protestants. We would suppose, for example: a) Protestant respondents and their parents would be more frequently committed to a liberal ideology, b) both parents and respondents would be more likely to consider marital choice the sole concern of the offspring, c) the Protestant respondents would be more likely to have rejected their religion, etc. Perhaps on some of the variables, e.g. desire to hide background and rise in status, the Catholics would be pushed more toward intermarriage. In sum, however, a prediction of greater intermarriage for Protestants would seem indicated.

In some instances the molecular factors are not sufficient to allow

for predictions. For example, only one of these factors is of help in explaining the difference between lower and upper class Protestants. This supports our belief that the subsidiary hypotheses do not take into account all relevant factors. In the comparison mentioned, some of the speculative materials are of assistance in making a prediction. We would expect that the lower class Protestant would have a higher rate because: a) he is likely to meet with less parental opposition, though in neither case would the objections be religious ones. In the Protestant upper class there are matters of name and family position which might lead to objections. b) intermarriage may represent an avenue to higher status for the lower class Protestant, but it would not serve this purpose for the upper class member of this religion. c) relatively, there are few lower class Protestants in New York. The lower class Protestant might have difficulty finding a Protestant who will accept him as a spouse.

Our general conclusion is that the molecular factors aid in the interpretation of the molar differences, but they do not allow for a complete explanation. The factors discussed in our speculative materials do much to complete the picture.

In conclusion, we shall present a general picture of the person who intermarries. If our interpretations are correct, and we assume they are for this concluding note, the person who intermarries does not seem to be a particularly unique individual. His marriage does not seem to have been a rash one, for he is quite mature and perhaps previously married. He does appear to be a rather emancipated individual; he has broken the ties to his parents. However, in many cases, he is not as noteworthy for his breaking of ties as he is for the fact that his ties have never been strong. Factors

not considered as valid criteria for mate choice according to the romantic complex appear to have been of some relevance in his choice of a mate just as they are in intramarriages. Certain of these, such as a desire to escape one's background, inability to win the first choice, etc., may be somewhat more common in interfaith marriages than in other marriages. Finally, there appears to be a greater likelihood that he will be committed to liberal ideology than is the case for intramarried persons.

Though the intermarried individual is not particularly unique, he does differ in some ways from the intramarried person. In the following chapters we will attempt to discover if these characteristics, marriage type, neither, or both lead to differences in postmarital variables.

CHAPTER VI

The Matched Samples

In this chapter we will describe the method by which cases were chosen from the sample of the intramarried to make up the matched intramarried group. The results of this procedure will also be presented.

In the main, the factors chosen as matching variables met the following criteria: a) they were operant prior to marriage, b) they differentiated significantly between the two marriage types, c) they are believed to have relevance for the outcome of the marriage.

On the basis of these criteria the following nine items were chosen: a) the respondent's religion when growing up, b) the socio-economic status of the respondent's father (father's SES), c) the respondent's education, d) number of previous marriages, e) age at first marriage, f) score on the Family Integration (I) Score, g) score on the Family Conflict (C) Score, h) score on the Family Dissatisfaction (D) Score, i) secular or religious background of the respondent. In addition, two items which did not meet the criteria were included. These were: j) sex of the respondent, and k) present age of the respondent. There were, therefore, eleven "matching factors".

For the purposes of the matching the variables were "broken down" as follows: a) religion of the respondent - Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Eastern Orthodox and other; b) father's SES - low, middle, and high; c) respondent's education - grammar school graduate or less, some high school or high school graduate, some college or more; d) number of previous marriages - none, one or more; e) age at first marriage - five year groups

from fifteen years to thirty-four years, ten year groups from thirty-five to fifty-nine; f) score on I score - zero and one, two and above; g) score on C score - zero to two, three and above; h) score on D score - zero to three, four and above; i) secular or religious background - stated religion had no importance to parents and parents never attend church, stated religion had some importance to parents and/or parents attended church ; j) sex of respondent - male, female; k) present age of respondent - five year groups from twenty to fifty-nine.

As might be expected, it was not possible to match all respondents on all eleven factors. When we could not match the cases on a given factor an "error" was recorded. On two variables it was held inappropriate to record an error within certain limits. Thus, if the two cases were within one category of each other on the present age variable the match was considered satisfactory. Similarly, in matching on age at marriage an error was not recorded if the cases were within one category of each other if they were both married before thirty or after thirty.

How accurate was the matching? This question can be answered in a variety of ways. The most pertinent answer is probably in terms of the number of matches that agreed on all factors, the number that agreed on ten etc. Table VI-1, on the next page presents the answer.

The table shows that 70.4 percent of the cases were perfectly matched or disagreed on one of the variables. Only 10.8 of the cases disagreed on three or four variables. The percentages are not very different when religion is controlled.

If a perfect match was not available we usually chose the case that

TABLE VI-1

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF VARIABLES MATCHED, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

No. of Factors Matched	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		E.O.		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
11	58	45.3	45	34.1	7	24.1	0	0.0	110	36.2
10	34	26.6	52	39.4	13	44.9	5*	33.3	104	34.2
9	24	18.8	20	15.2	6	20.7	7	46.7	57	18.8
8	8	6.2	14	10.6	3	10.3	3	20.0	28	9.2
7	4	3.1	1	.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	1.6
Total	128	100.0	132	100.0	29	100.0	15	100.0	304	100.0
Mean	10.05		9.95		9.83		9.13		9.94	

*Four of these five cases agree on all factors except for religion of the respondent. It was not possible to match all the Eastern Orthodox on religion because the intermarried Orthodox respondents outnumbered the intramarried. It was necessary, therefore, to use Catholic intramarried respondents as matches for the intermarried Orthodox respondent for whom there were no available intramarried Eastern Orthodox.

would minimize the number of errors. However, if the intermarried case had several unusual characteristics an attempt was made to find an intramarried respondent who had similar characteristics, even if this resulted in a large number of errors on the other factors. In these instances it was felt that it was more important to match on these atypical features than it was to have few errors. In most instances, however, we merely attempted to keep the errors to a minimum.

The next question to be considered concerns the relative success of the matching on the various factors. Table VI-2, on the following page, presents the relevant data.

TABLE VI-2

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF CASES NOT MATCHED ON EACH OF THE MATCHING FACTORS, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Factor	Cath. [*]		Prot.		Jewish		E.O.		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Age at 1st Marriage	11	8.6	15	11.4	1	3.4	4	26.7	31	10.2
Present Age	22	17.2	15	11.4	9	31.0	2	13.3	48	15.6
Sex	8	6.2	3	2.3	4	13.8	1	6.7	16	5.3
Education	17	13.3	38	28.8	8	27.6	4	26.7	67	22.0
Father's SES	26	20.3	32	24.2	5	17.2	4	26.7	67	22.0
I Score	19	14.8	9	6.8	1	3.4	1	6.7	30	9.9
C Score	9	7.0	10	7.8	2	6.9	0	0.0	21	6.9
D Score	8	6.2	11	8.3	4	13.8	1	6.7	24	7.9
Secular B'k'gd.	2	1.6	2	1.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.3
# of Marriages	0	0.0	3	2.3	0	0.0	3	20.0	6	2.0
R's religion	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	53.3	8	2.6
Total	122	95.2	138	104.8	34	117.1	28	173.4	322	105.7
No. of cases	128		132		29		15		304	

*Percentages are computed with the number of cases as the base. They may, therefore, not add to 100 percent.

If 10 percent disagreement be taken as an acceptable level, it appears that the matching is inadequate on respondent's age, education and father's SES.

The previous analyses did not take into account compensating errors, and

this is perhaps as it should be. The fact that there was an error in one match is not to be remedied by making an error in the opposite direction on another. Such compensating errors do occur, however, and it is of some interest to know the frequency distributions of the various factors. Table VI-3, below, presents these data.

TABLE VI-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MATCHING FACTORS BY MARRIAGE TYPE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Z = MATCHED INTRAMARRIED.)

Factor	<u>Cath.</u>		<u>Prot.</u>		<u>Jewish</u>		<u>E.O.</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	X	Z	X	Z	X	Z	X	Z	X	Z
Age at 1st Marriage	Under 30	74.2 75.8	78.8 78.0	62.1 65.5	73.3 80.0	75.0 75.3				
	Over 30 & No Answer	25.8 24.2	21.2 22.0	37.9 34.5	26.6 20.0	25.0 24.7				
Present Age	20-24	6.3 5.5	6.1 3.0	0.0 3.4	0.0 6.7	5.3 4.3				
	25-29	10.9 8.6	16.7 11.4	6.9 3.4	6.7 13.3	12.8 9.5				
	30-34	12.5 15.6	9.8 10.6	17.2 6.9	26.7 20.0	12.5 12.8				
	35-39	13.3 10.9	12.9 13.6	17.2 10.3	6.7 0.0	13.2 11.5				
	40-44	16.4 20.3	9.8 15.2	6.9 24.1	13.3 13.3	12.5 18.1				
	45-49	11.7 16.4	17.4 12.1	24.1 13.8	6.7 0.0	15.1 13.5				
	50-54	16.4 10.9	15.2 20.0	13.8 24.1	0.0 26.7	14.8 16.8				
	55-59	12.5 11.7	12.1 14.4	13.8 13.8	40.0 20.0	13.8 13.5				
	Mean	41.8 41.7	41.4 43.2	43.6 45.3	44.8 42.8	41.9 42.7				
Sex	Male	43.0 43.0	44.7 43.9	58.6 51.7	80.0 73.3	47.0 45.7				
	Female	57.0 57.0	55.3 56.1	41.4 48.3	20.0 26.7	53.0 54.3				

TABLE VI-3--Continued

Factor		Cath.		Prot.		Jewish		E.O.		Total	
		X	Z	X	Z	X	Z	X	Z	X	Z
Educ.	Grammar	32.8	35.2	32.6	26.5	13.8	6.9	26.7	26.7	30.6	28.3
	H.S.	43.8	46.1	46.2	43.9	20.7	27.6	40.0	26.7	42.4	42.4
	Coll.	23.4	18.8	21.2	29.5	65.5	65.5	33.3	46.7	27.0	29.3
Father's SES	Lower	24.2	25.0	22.7	18.9	13.8	13.8	46.7	33.3	23.7	21.7
	Middle	40.6	45.3	31.8	31.8	6.9	13.8	13.3	20.0	32.2	35.2
	Upper	35.2	29.7	45.4	49.2	79.3	72.4	40.0	46.7	44.1	43.1
I Score	0,1	35.2	32.8	40.2	40.2	41.4	34.5	33.3	26.7	37.8	35.8
	2-4	64.8	67.2	59.8	59.8	58.6	65.5	66.7	73.3	62.2	64.2
	Mean	1.82	1.85	1.64	1.66	1.59	1.86	2.00	1.87	1.73	1.77
C Score	0-2	83.6	87.5	85.6	87.1	89.7	89.7	93.3	93.3	85.5	87.8
	3-5	16.4	12.5	14.4	12.9	10.3	10.3	6.7	6.7	14.5	12.2
	Mean	1.18	1.10	.97	.98	.83	1.10	.67	.73	1.03	.95
D Score	0-3	77.4	78.1	82.6	84.8	75.9	82.8	93.3	100.0	80.3	82.6
	4-7	22.6	21.9	17.4	15.2	24.1	17.2	6.7	0.0	19.7	17.4
	Mean	1.98	1.95	1.81	1.76	1.93	2.03	1.47	1.40	1.88	1.85
Secular Background	Yes	2.3	.8	9.1	9.8	17.2	17.2	0.0	6.7	6.6	6.6
	No	97.7	99.2	90.9	90.2	82.8	82.8	100.0	93.3	93.4	93.4
No. of Marriages	1	78.9	78.9	85.6	81.1	72.4	72.4	100.0	100.0	82.2	79.3
	2	21.1	21.1	14.4	18.9	27.6	27.6	0.0	0.0	17.7	20.7
Total Cases		128	128	132	132	29	29	15	15	304	304

It is readily apparant that many of the inaccuracies previously noted do not appear when we deal only with a frequency distribution. For example, in the Total column the compensating errors operate in such a manner that the differences between the two matched groups on variables such as father's SES, education, and present age are very small. Within religions several of the differences are considerably larger, but the general picture is that the samples are fairly closely matched on the basis of the distribution of the variables in the samples.

Our purpose in matching the groups was to make them as similar as possible on factors that were operant prior to marriage. We would hope that the matching procedure would at least reduce the differences between the groups on premarital variables that were not used in the actual matching procedure. We now present data which indicate the degree to which this occurred. The variables to be considered are type of school attended, ethnic background, and father's education.

Only in the Catholic groups did an appreciable number of respondents attend parochial school. When the intermarried group was compared with the full Catholic intramarried group there was found to be a difference of 7.9 percent in the proportion of the two groups that had attended a parochial school. When the Catholic intermarried respondents are compared with the matched sample of intramarried Catholics we find that the difference is now 10.7 percent. On this variable, therefore, the matching procedure makes the groups more dissimilar than they were originally.

The effect of the matching on the variable of ethnicity will be found on the next page. In order to make the comparisons easier to grasp we are presenting the data in three columns; the X column refers to the

TABLE VI-4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNICITY FOR INTERMARRIED GROUP (X), TOTAL INTRAMARRIED GROUP (Y), AND MATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP (Z), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Ethnicity	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total ^a		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
U.S.	8.9	4.1	4.1	23.8	30.0	29.8	7.1	.8	0.0	14.9	11.4	14.8
Germ.	25.2	16.2	19.5	37.7	26.5	29.0	39.3	28.5	25.0	30.7	20.9	23.6
Ireland	14.6	27.5	26.0	2.3	3.6	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	16.0	12.8
Italy	13.8	20.5	19.5	0.0	.4	.8	3.6	0.0	0.0	6.1	11.3	9.1
Hung.	3.3	6.6	4.9	1.5	.8	.8	10.7	14.6	17.8	3.0	5.9	4.0
Czech.	8.9	11.4	9.8	5.4	5.9	6.1	3.6	3.2	0.0	7.8	8.4	7.1
Russian	8.1	2.8	3.2	.8	.4	.8	28.6	43.1	42.8	8.4	8.6	7.4
P.R.	1.6	3.7	4.1	.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	2.0
Eng.	1.6	2.4	2.4	11.5	13.0	16.0	3.6	1.6	3.6	6.1	5.5	8.4
Other	13.8	4.8	6.5	16.2	19.4	13.7	3.6	8.1	10.7	14.9	10.0	10.8
N	123	458	123	130	253	131	28	123	28	296	842 ^b	297

^aIncluded in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are eight intermarried respondents, twenty-one from the full intramarrried group, and seven from the matched intramarrried group who could not be classified.

intermarried group, the Y column is the total intramarrried group, and the Z column the matched intramarrried group. It is hypothesized that the differences between the intermarried group(X) and the total intramarrried group(Y) will be larger than the differences between the intermarried group and the

matched intramarried group(2).

The Total column shows that the matching procedure decreases the difference between the marriage groups for most ethnic groups, though the improvement is not very great. The only groups in which the difference between the groups is increased are the Russian and English groups. Within each religion the tendency is the same, though there are more instances in which the difference is increased. In general, we may conclude that the matched intramarried group resembles the intermarried group somewhat more on ethnic background than the full intramarried group does.

We may similarly test the effect of the matching procedure on the variable, father's education. We predict that the differences between the intermarried group and the full intramarried group will be greater than the differences between the intermarried group and the matched intramarried group. Table VI-5, on the following page, presents the pertinent data.

In the Catholic and Protestant groups the matching results in a considerable closing of the gap between the two marriage groups on this variable. The Jewish group show increasing differences in almost all cases, and the Total group shows two improvements and two increases in the differences. It should be noted that father's education is included in the father's SES scale which was used as one of the matching factors.

In general, these tests indicate that the matching procedure results in only a very small decrease in the differences between the two marriage types on premarital variables which were not used as matching factors. The two groups cannot, therefore, be said to be alike on premarital factors. They are alike, rather, on a specific group of premarital factors that originally gave significant differences when the full groups were compared.

TABLE VI-5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FATHER'S EDUCATION FOR INTERMARRIED GROUP (X), TOTAL INTRAMARRIED GROUP (Y), AND MATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP (Z), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION.

Father's Educ.	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			^a Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
Gram.	60.4	77.2	64.9	55.8	36.1	41.3	30.8	51.3	60.0	55.8	60.1	52.7
H.S.	19.8	15.3	20.7	15.0	23.3	24.8	34.6	28.3	28.0	18.2	19.8	23.6
Coll.	11.3	5.0	6.3	17.7	24.2	21.1	26.9	11.5	8.0	18.6	12.1	13.2
Grad.sch.	8.5	2.4	8.1	6.2	16.4	12.8	7.7	8.8	4.0	7.4	7.9	10.5
N	106	378	111	113	219	109	26	113	25	258	717 ^b	258

^a Included in the total are twenty Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^b Omitted from the table are forty-six intermarried, 146 from the total intramarrried group, and forty-six from the matched intramarrried group who gave no answer.

In summary, about 70 percent of the matches agree on all eleven or on ten of the eleven factors. Almost 90 percent of the matches agree on nine or more factors, and about 98 percent of the matched cases agree on eight or more variables. With religion controlled the figures are quite similar.

The errors tend to be concentrated in certain categories. The matching is rather poor for present age, education, and father's SES. It is quite good for sex, secular background, number of marriages, and respondent's religion. On those variables which show up rather poorly on a case to case comparison, compensating errors operate in such a way that in the percentage

distribution of the two groups, without religion controlled, there is only one difference greater than approximately 3 percent. It might be noted that not infrequently the sole aim of matching procedures is to make the means and the variances in two groups the same. We have been successful on that score.

The author feels that he has done the best possible matching that could be done; given the fact that there was a finite group of intramarried respondents from which matches could be drawn. Is the matching an adequate one, however? This is a question that cannot be answered, for no accepted standards exist upon which we can evaluate our work. It is quite clear, however, that the matched groups are not completely comparable. This may lead to ambiguous results in the next chapter. In order to avoid this we will present data for the perfectly matched cases as well as materials from comparisons of all the matched pairs.

Chapter VII

The Data Relevant to the Test of Basic Hypotheses II and III

In this chapter we shall present the evidence bearing upon the second and third basic hypotheses. Basic Hypothesis II states: Interfaith marriages differ from intrafaith marriages on postmarital variables. Basic Hypothesis III states: Comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages do not differ on postmarital variables.¹

These hypotheses are to be tested on the same variables, and they will be considered simultaneously. Validation of both will indicate that the differences between the groups on premarital variables produce differences on postmarital factors, but marriage type does not lead to differences between the groups.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis A

Subsidiary Hypothesis A of Basic Hypothesis II states: The intermarried group shows lesser adjustment and greater dissatisfaction than does the intramarried group. The equivilant subsidiary hypothesis of the third basic hypothesis says: Comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages, i.e., marriages matched on premarital factors, do not show differences in adjustment and satisfaction.

Specific Hypothesis 1.

The first specific hypothesis concerns the relationship between

¹ Though not specifically stated in the hypotheses, it should be understood that the relationship between interfaith and intrafaith marriages is thought to be the same when religion is controlled and when total groups are compared. See p. 12.

marriage type and general dissatisfaction. It is hypothesized that the interfaith marriage group will show greater dissatisfaction than the unmatched intramarriage group, but the dissatisfaction of comparable inter and intramarriages will be the same.

In order to test these hypotheses the Present Dissatisfaction (PD) Simple Score was constructed. It is meant to indicate the degree to which the respondent expresses dissatisfaction with the world in general and his position in it, in particular.² It is assumed that the general expressions of dissatisfaction are projections of the respondent's feelings about his own lot.

The questions included and the responses given a point are:

1. "In general, would you say that most of the time you are in high spirits, good spirits, low spirits, or very low spirits? (low, very low)
2. Do you feel you have had your share of good luck in life? (no)
3. On the whole, life gives you a lot of pleasure. (disagree)
4. Nothing ever turns out for me the way I want it to. (agree)
5. You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile anymore. (agree)
6. In spite of what some people say, the lot (situation, condition) of the average man is getting worse, not better. (agree)
7. It's hardly fair to bring a child into the world with the way

² Several of the indices used in this section do not refer to marriage directly. We believe, however, that general satisfaction and adjustment are in part a function of satisfaction and adjustment in marriage. If the marriage types differ on the former, it will be interpreted as reflecting difference on the latter.

things look for the future. (agree)

Table VII - 1, below, presents the distribution of scores in three groups; the intermarried group (X), the total, or unmatched, intramarried group (Y), and the group of intramarried respondents who were matched to the intermarried on the premarital variables (Z).

The intermarriage groups do not differ significantly from the unmatched intramarriage groups on this simple score. If we have a valid index of dissatisfaction, there is no reason to believe that intermarried people in Midtown are any more dissatisfied than persons in the area who are intramarried.

This being the case, there perhaps appears to be no reason to analyze the table further. If there is no difference between unmatched groups, it is not expected that the matched samples would show significant differences. It is conceivable, however, that this may occur.

On this score, in both the Catholic and Total groups, the significance of the difference between matched groups is greater than it was when unmatched cases were used. In the Catholic group, in fact, we now have evidence to indicate that the intermarried Catholics in Midtown are more dissatisfied than are comparable intramarried Catholics. Since the difference in the Total group is not significant, we will assume that the increase in significance is due to chance variation.

We conclude that intermarriage does affect the dissatisfaction of Catholics. The differences between the marriage types on premarital variables served to obscure this effect when unmatched groups were compared. We previously noted that a difference between unmatched groups did not

TABLE VII-1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON THE PRESENT DISSATISFACTION (PD) SCORE BY MARRIAGE TYPE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X=INTER-MARRIED GROUP, Y=UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z=ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES.)

PD Score	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
0	40.6	36.0	39.8	49.2	49.8	50.0	51.7	47.3	37.9	44.7	41.6	44.4
1	20.3	27.9	34.4	25.8	24.1	22.7	20.7	29.4	41.4	23.7	27.2	29.9
2	15.6	15.6	10.9	9.8	8.9	9.1	6.9	13.2	10.3	13.2	13.2	9.9
3	10.1	9.4	3.9	6.1	8.9	10.6	10.3	8.5	10.3	7.9	9.2	7.6
4	7.2	7.0	9.4	5.3	4.7	3.8	10.3	1.6	0.0	6.2	5.4	5.6
5	2.4	2.8	1.6	3.0	2.7	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.4	2.0
6	3.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	.8	.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	.9	.7
7	.8	0.0	0.0	.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.7	0.0	0.0
Total	128	469	128	132	257	132	29	129	29	304*	863*	304
Mean	1.46	1.37	1.13	1.05	1.11	1.08	1.07	.88	.93	1.23	1.21	1.08
T (diff.-means- X : Y)		.60			.39			t=.83			.21	
P		>.50			>.50			<.50			>.50	
T (diff.-means- X : Z)		1.94			.12			t=.50			1.27	
P		.05			>.50			>.50			.20	

*Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

necessarily indicate that marriage type affected outcome. We now see that the lack of a difference between unmatched groups does not necessarily in-

dicates that marriage type does not affect outcome.

The presentation of the data in this form is not the best way to show the test of the third basic hypothesis. The hypothesis calls for a case to case comparison, and the table presented obscures this kind of comparison. We have, therefore, reformulated the data of columns X and Z of Table VII-1, and presented them in Table VII-2.³

Clearly, only in the Catholic group is the mean difference significant. We may conclude that only for this group is there evidence which indicates that the intermarried respondents are more dissatisfied than comparable intrafaith marriage respondents. The fiducial intervals, presented at the bottom of the table, indicate that for the Catholics it is extremely unlikely that the average difference is greater than $-.77$.

The analysis must be carried one step further. A significant difference between the marriage groups when all matched cases are used may be due to a variety of causes. In the first place, we have controlled only selected premarital variables. The difference might be due to the differential distribution of uncontrolled premarital factors. Though this is a possibility that must be considered, we believe that it is not likely that such uncon-

³This table is a percentage distribution of differences in matched pairs. For example, in the Catholic group in 21.1 percent of the matched pairs the intramarried respondent had a score one point lower than the intermarried respondent with whom he was matched. On the average, the Catholic intermarried respondents scored about one-third of a point lower than the intermarried respondents with whom they were matched.

If the third basic hypothesis was completely correct, all cases would appear in the zero difference row. This is unlikely to occur of course. We shall use the T test for the significance of the mean difference between pairs in two matched groups to determine if the obtained difference is larger than the difference that might be expected upon the basis of chance alone.

TABLE VII-2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN PD SCORE BETWEEN MATCHED CASES
(Z -X), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP;
Z = ALL MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES; F.I. = FIDUCIAL INTERVAL.)

Difference (Z -X)	Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Total
-6	1.6	0.0	0.0	.6
-5	2.3	2.3	0.0	2.0
-4	.8	3.0	3.4	2.0
-3	7.8	3.0	6.9	5.3
-2	10.9	9.1	3.4	9.2
-1	18.0	13.6	17.2	17.4
0	25.8	35.6	31.0	30.3
+1	21.1	15.9	34.5	19.7
+2	4.7	6.8	0.0	5.3
+3	3.9	7.6	3.4	5.3
+4	3.1	.8	0.0	1.6
+5	0.0	2.3	0.0	1.3
+6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	128	132	29	304*
Mean	- .33	+ .02	- .14	- .14
T-mean	1.94	.12	t = .50	1.27
P	.50	> .50	> .50	.20
F.I. .05	± .33	.31	.57	.22
F.I. .01	± .44	.41	.77	.28

*

Included in the total are fifteen Eastern Orthodox pairs not in the body of the table.

trolled variables will have much effect. We feel fairly confident that any difference that exists between intermarriages and intramarriages which are perfectly matched on eleven premarital variables can be attributed to the effect of marriage type.

The reader will recall, however, that not all of the 304 pairs represent agreement on all eleven variables. In fact, only 110 cases are perfectly matched. This being the case, it is possible that the difference is caused by the lack of comparability in many of the pairs rather than by the effect of interfaith marriage. In this instance, we can remove the difficulty by dealing only with those pairs which agree on all the premarital variables used. If a difference then remains, it is probably due to the effect of the marriage type variable.

Table VII-3, on the following page, presents the results of the case to case comparison of the 110 perfectly matched cases.⁴

The limitation of the analysis to the perfectly matched cases has an important effect only in the Protestant group. There is an indication that the use of pairs that were not perfectly matched obscured differences that exist between comparable Protestant intermarriages and intramarriages. Intermarried Protestants appear to be less dissatisfied than comparable

⁴It should be noted that the perfectly matched cases are not a random sample of any identifiable universe. Those who could be perfectly matched are a selected group. Despite this, it is probably permissible to use the T test on data based upon them. We are concerned only with differences between the respondents in these pairs. We have no reason to believe that the relationship between the individuals in these pairs differs from the relationships in a random sample of perfectly matched pairs. The individual cases are not representative of Midtown, but the relationships within the pairs probably are.

TABLE VII-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN PD SCORE BETWEEN PERFECTLY MATCHED CASES (Z' - X'), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES; Z' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES; F.I. = FIDUCIAL INTERVAL.)

Difference (Z' - X')	Catholic	Protestant	Total
-6	0.0	0.0	0.0
-5	3.4	0.0	1.8
-4	1.7	2.2	1.8
-3	10.3	2.2	7.3
-2	13.8	2.2	9.1
-1	19.0	15.6	18.2
0	25.9	37.8	29.1
+1	13.8	15.6	16.4
+2	6.9	11.1	8.2
+3	3.4	11.1	6.4
+4	1.7	0.0	.9
+5	0.0	2.2	.9
+6	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	58	45	110*
Mean	-.57	+.47	-.14
T-mean	2.28	1.88	.78
P	<.05	<.10	.44
F.I. .05	±.50	.50	.35
F.I. .01	±.66	.67	.46

*Included in the total are seven perfectly matched Jewish pairs not included in the body of the table.

intramarried Protestants. The comparison of perfectly matched cases is believed to be the best test of the hypothesis. We conclude, therefore, that the Protestant group does not support the third basic hypothesis.

To summarize: This hypothesis provided no support for either part of Subsidiary Hypothesis A. We predicted that there would be significant differences between unmatched groups. The differences found were not significant. From Basic Hypothesis III we predicted that matched intermarriages and intramarriages would not differ significantly. The comparison of perfectly matched cases produced significant differences in two groups. It appears that intermarried Catholics are less satisfied than comparable intramarried Catholics, and intermarried Protestants are more satisfied than comparable intramarried Protestants. Our very tentative conclusion would be that intermarriage has a deleterious effect upon the satisfaction of Catholics and a beneficial effect upon Protestant's satisfaction. On this variable differences in premarital factors hide differences between marriage types rather than producing them. In the Protestant group the inaccuracies in the matching also served to obscure differences between the marriage types.

Specific Hypothesis 2.

The respondents were asked whether they worried about a variety of things, and included in the list was the item marriage. Specific Hypothesis 2 predicts that a significantly smaller percentage of the intermarried than of the unmatched intramarried will say that they never worried about marriage. No differences are expected in the comparisons of matched samples. The data to test these hypotheses are presented in Table VII-4, below.

On the basis of the comparison of the unmatched groups we conclude

TABLE VII-4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "DO YOU WORRY ABOUT MARRIAGE OFTEN, SOMETIMES, OR NEVER?" CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y = UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. THREE DOTS (...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC.)

Response	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
Often	7.1	3.0	2.4	5.4	5.2	6.2	6.9	3.9	6.9	6.0	3.8	4.3
Sometimes	18.1	11.9	15.1	14.7	13.9	10.0	24.1	21.7	20.7	17.0	14.0	13.7
Never	74.8	85.1	82.5	79.8	81.0	83.8	69.0	74.4	72.4	77.0	82.2	82.0
N	127	462	126	129	252	130	29	129	29	300 ^a	851 ^a	300
T(% X-Never: % Y-Never)		2.65			.27			t = .61			2.05	
P		< .01			> .50			> .50			< .05	
T(% X-Never: % Z-Never) ^b		1.28			.83			...			1.47	
P		.20			.41			...			.14	

^aOmitted from the table are sixteen respondents who gave no answer. Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

^bIn all comparisons of matched groups the T is corrected for continuity and correlation.

that there is probably a difference between marriage types in the Catholic and Total groups. In the other groups the direction of the difference is as expected, but the differences are very small. On this variable the subsidiary hypothesis of Basic Hypothesis II receives support from two groups.

This is not a quantitative variable, and therefore we cannot present

a table comparable to Tables VII-2,3. We can, however, give some of the flavor of a case by case comparison by constructing a table which shows the relative frequency of the various combinations of responses within pairs. Table VII-5, below, presents the data for all matched cases and for the perfectly matched cases.⁵

The differences in the total matched samples are not significant. This is true of the two groups, the Catholic and Total, which yielded significant differences when unmatched cases were included. For these groups both Hypotheses II and III are supported. In the other groups only Hypothesis III gains support.

When the analysis is limited to the perfectly matched cases, the probability figures tend to be somewhat lower, though they are still not significant. Since the change is not very great, we may attribute it to chance variation. The previous conclusion stands, therefore.

Specific Hypothesis 3.

The respondents were asked whether they believed that the unmarried could be as content as the married. Though this does not refer directly to the respondent's marriage, it is believed that the answers have a projective

⁵ Table VII-5 is to be read as follows: Among the Catholics, in 63.2 percent of the pairs both respondents gave "never" as their answer. In 5.6 percent of the Catholic pairs both respondents said often or sometimes. In 19.2 percent, the intramarried respondent said never and the intermarried respondent replied often or sometimes. Seventy-five percent of the intermarried respondents gave "never" as a response, and 82.4 percent of the intramarried so responded. The T of the difference between these percentages is 1.28. A similar analysis may be made for the next column which includes only the perfectly matched pairs.

TABLE VII-5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINATIONS OF RESPONSES IN MATCHED PAIRS IN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION, "DO YOU WORRY ABOUT MARRIAGE OFTEN, SOMETIMES, OR NEVER?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, X' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. IN ALL INSTANCES THE FIRST ENTRY REFERS TO THE RESPONSE OF THE INTRAMARRIED RESPONDENT AND THE ENTRY AFTER THE DASH TO THE RESPONSE OF THE INTERMARRIED RESPONDENT WITH WHOM HE IS MATCHED. N = NEVER, O,S = OFTEN OR SOMETIMES. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC. A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC.)

Responses	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
N-N	63.2	68.4	67.7	61.0	51.7	28.6	64.5	62.9
O,S - O,S	5.6	5.3	3.9	2.4	10.3	14.3	5.4	4.8
N - O,S	19.2	19.3	16.5	24.4	20.7	14.3	17.6	21.0
O,S - N	12.0	7.0	11.8	12.2	17.2	42.8	12.5	11.4
N	125	57	127	41	29	7	296 ^a	105 ^b
% X- Never	75.0	75.4	79.5	73.2	69.0	71.4	77.0	74.3
% Z- Never	82.4	87.7	84.2	85.4	72.4	42.8	82.1	83.8
T(% X: % Z- Never)	1.28	1.54	.83	1.27	...		1.47	1.56
P	.20	>.10	.41	>.10	...		.14	.12

^a Eight pairs are omitted because one or both cases gave no answer. Included in the total are fifteen Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

^b Five pairs are omitted because one or both cases gave no answer.

aspect. We feel that agreement with this statement by a married person carried with it some implication of dissatisfaction with his own marriage. We hypothesize, therefore, that the intermarried group will show a sig-

nificantly higher percentage of agreement than will the intramarried, but that the difference will not be significant in the matched groups. Table VII-6, presents the relevant data.

TABLE VII-6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "DO YOU AGREE OR DIS-AGREE WITH THIS STATEMENT, THE UNMARRIED PERSON CAN BE JUST AS CONTENT AS THE MARRIED ONE?" CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y = UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES.)

Response	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
Agree	58.4	62.9	64.8	62.5	55.1	54.4	71.4	47.2	42.8	61.6	58.0	57.8
Disagree	41.6	37.1	35.2	37.5	44.9	45.6	28.6	52.8	57.2	38.4	42.0	42.2
N	125	450	122	128	243	125	28	123	28	294*	824*	289
T(% X: % Y- Agree)		.91			1.40			t=2.76			1.09	
P		.36			.16			< .01			.28	
T(% X: % Z- Agree)		.92			1.34			t=1.80			.88	
P		.36			.18			< .10			.38	

*Omitted from the table are forty-eight respondents who gave no answer. Included in the total are twenty-one Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

The hypothesis based upon Basic Hypothesis II is supported only in the Jewish group. In the Protestant group the difference is in the predicted direction, but it is not large enough to be significant. Table VII-7, below, presents the data relevant to the third basic hypothesis.

TABLE VII-7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AGREEMENT (A) AND DISAGREEMENT (D), IN MATCHED PAIRS, WITH THE STATEMENT, "THE UNMARRIED PERSON CAN BE AS CONTENT AS THE MARRIED ONE." CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, X' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. IN ALL INSTANCES THE FIRST ENTRY REFERS TO THE RESPONSE OF THE INTRAMARRIED RESPONDENT AND THE ENTRY AFTER THE DASH TO THE RESPONSE OF THE INTERMARRIED RESPONDENT WITH WHOM HE IS MATCHED. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC. A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE TOO FEW CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC.)

Responses	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
A-A	38.6	44.4	34.7	47.6	37.0	42.8	36.4	45.6
D-D	12.6	13.0	18.2	21.4	22.2	14.3	16.1	16.5
A-D	27.7	20.4	19.0	14.3	7.4	14.3	21.8	17.5
D-A	21.0	22.2	28.1	16.7	33.3	28.6	25.7	20.4
N	119	54	121	42	27	7	280 ^a	103 ^b
% X- Agree	59.7	66.7	62.8	64.3	70.4	71.4	62.1	66.0
% Z-Agree	66.2	64.8	53.7	61.9	44.4	57.1	58.2	63.1
T(% X: % Z-Agree)	.92	...	1.34	...	t=1.80		.88	.31
P	.36	...	.18	...	< .10		.38	> .50

^a Twenty-four pairs are omitted because one or both respondents gave no answer. Included in the total are thirteen Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

^b Seven pairs are omitted because one or both respondents gave no answer.

Hypothesis III is supported in all groups but the Jewish. In this group the certainty that a difference exists in the universe is less than

it was previously, but the difference is still significant at .10.⁶ It seems, therefore, that both premarital factors and marriage type contribute to differences on this question for the Jews. These data represent a second combination of support and non-support of the basic hypotheses that was not anticipated. We now see that premarital factors may contribute to differences between unmatched marriage groups, but they need not be the sole determinants of these differences.⁷

Specific Hypothesis 4.

We shall now return to a consideration of more general factors. Among the indices constructed at the Midtown Project was a score called the Mental Health Rating I. This scale was constructed by three psychiatrists on the basis of the respondents' replies to the items of the questionnaire. It is an evaluation of general mental health; particularly the efficiency of functioning in every day life.⁸ We predict a difference favor-

⁶It should be noted that this decrease in significance occurs despite the fact that the "raw" difference between the marriage types is greater in the comparison of matched samples than it was when unmatched groups were compared. This points up the necessity of keeping in mind that we are not, in the last analysis, interested in the comparisons of the samples. They are of value only as indicators of what exists in the universe. It is quite possible that an increase in a difference, coincident with a decrease in sample size, will result in lessened certainty of a difference in the universe. The sample differences obtained are not directly comparable; the P's are.

⁷It is unfortunate that there are too few perfectly matched Jewish cases to allow analysis. It is possible that the residual difference is due to the imperfections in the matching.

⁸An extensive analysis of this score may be found in Thomas A.C. Rennie, Leo Srole, Thomas S. Langer, Studies in Urban Mental Health Vol. I, Epidemiology, (In Preparation). The rating seems to have acceptable validity and inter-rater reliability. The raters did not know if the respondent was intermarried or intramarried. They only had information on symptomatology and attitudes.

ing the unmatched intramarried respondents and no differences between the matched groups. Table VII-8, presents the pertinent data.

TABLE VII-8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MENTAL HEALTH RATING I, CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X=INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y=UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z=ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE DIFFERENCE WAS NOT CALCULATED. A LOW SCORE IS INDICATIVE OF GOOD MENTAL HEALTH.)

Mental Health I	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	Z	Y	Z	Z	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
1	10.2	19.0	19.5	21.2	26.1	25.0	27.6	17.8	13.8	17.1	21.1	22.0
2	50.0	40.3	42.2	43.9	36.6	34.1	37.9	44.2	41.4	45.1	39.7	37.8
3	14.1	21.5	24.2	18.9	17.9	22.0	24.1	27.1	31.0	18.1	21.2	24.0
4	25.8	19.2	14.0	15.9	19.4	18.9	10.3	10.8	13.8	19.7	18.0	16.1
Total	128	469	128	132	257	132	29	129	29	304*	863*	304
Mean	2.55	2.41	2.33	2.30	2.31	2.35	2.17	2.31	2.44	2.40	2.36	2.34
T(diff.means- X : Y)		1.40			...			t=.75			.60	
P		.16			...			<.50			>.50	
T(diff.means- X : Z)		2.17			.42			t=1.17			.81	
P		.03			>.50			>.10			.42	

*Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

There are no significant differences in mean score. However, the Catholic intermarried are significantly underrepresented in the healthiest category, and are overrepresented in the sickest category to a degree which

approaches significance. Before discussing the effect of the matching we will present Table VII-9, with the case by case comparison.

TABLE VII-9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN MENTAL HEALTH RATING I BETWEEN ALL MATCHED CASES AND PERFECTLY MATCHED CASES (Z-X), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X=INTERMARRIED GROUP, X'=PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z=ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, Z'=PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE TOO FEW CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC. F.I.=FIDUCIAL INTERVAL.)

Difference	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total ^a	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
-3	3.9	3.5	2.3	2.2	0.0	0.0	3.3	2.7
-2	11.7	10.3	10.6	17.8	6.9	14.3	10.5	13.6
-1	19.5	22.4	20.4	20.0	20.7	14.3	20.1	20.9
0	39.8	43.1	32.6	24.4	34.5	42.8	35.5	35.4
+1	18.0	13.8	18.2	17.8	17.2	0.0	18.4	14.5
+2	7.0	6.9	12.1	13.3	17.2	26.8	10.2	10.9
+3	0.0	0.0	3.8	4.4	3.4	0.0	2.0	1.8
N	128	58	132	45	29	7	304*	110
Mean	-.23	-.26	+.05	-.04	+.28	+.14	-.06	-.14
T-mean	2.17	1.73	.42	.18	t=1.17		.81	1.11
P	.03	<.10	.67	>.50	>.10		.42	.27
F.I..05	±.21	.30	.23	.44	.49		.14	.25
F.I..01	±.27	.40	.30	.59	.66		.219	.33

* Included in the total are fifteen Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

The only significant results are to be found in the Catholic group.

As was the case in the analysis of the PD score, the difference between matched groups is more significant than was the difference between unmatched groups. The comparison of perfectly matched cases indicates that the inaccuracies of the matching probably exaggerated the difference between the marriage types, but even these data indicate that comparable Catholic interfaith and intrafaith marriages differ in mental health. We conclude that interfaith marriage has a deleterious effect upon the functioning of Catholics. The unmatched groups did not show differences because of the obscuring effect of the differences in premarital factors.

In sum, the data for the Catholic group do not support either basic hypothesis. In the other groups the third, but not the second, basic hypothesis is supported.

This concludes our presentation of the tests of the four specific hypotheses that make up the test of Subsidiary Hypothesis A. Our findings are summarized in Table VII-10, on the following page.

We may now evaluate Subsidiary Hypothesis A. From Basic Hypothesis II we predicted that there would be significant differences between the marriage types. Since only three of the sixteen comparisons gave significant differences, this hypothesis is not adequately supported.

From Basic Hypothesis III we hypothesized that there would not be significant differences between matched groups. The number of significant differences obtained was somewhat greater than would be expected by chance alone. These data lend little support to Basic Hypothesis III. It is not supported in the Catholic group; comparable marriages in this group differ on several variables. The evidence indicates that intermarriage has a

TABLE VII-10

SUMMARY TABLE - SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS A: ADJUSTMENT AND DISSATISFACTION. PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENTS EARLY RELIGION. (A MINUS SIGN (-) AFTER A PROBABILITY FIGURE INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT IN THE DIRECTION PREDICTED BY HYPOTHESIS II. THREE DOTS (...) IN PLACE OF A PROBABILITY FIGURE INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC. A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC. A QUESTION MARK AFTER A PROBABILITY FIGURE INDICATES THAT THERE IS SOME QUESTION ABOUT THE FIGURE WHICH IS DISCUSSED IN THE TEXT.)

Variable		Cath.	Prot.	Jewish	Total
PD Score	All Cases	>.50	>.50(-)	<.50	>.50
	All Matched Cases	.05	>.50	>.50	.20
	Perfectly Matched Cases	<.05	<.10		.44
Worry About Marriage?	All Cases	<.01	>.50	>.50	<.05
	All Matched Cases	.20	.41	...	.14
	Perfectly Matched Cases	>.10?	>.10		.12
Unmarried Can Be Just As Content.	All Cases	.36(-)	.16	<.01	.28
	All Matched Cases	.36	.18	<.10	.38
	Perfectly Matched Cases	...	...		>.50
Mental Health Rating	All Cases	.16	...	<.50(-)	>.50
	All Matched Cases	.03	>.50	>.10	.42
	Perfectly Matched Cases	<.10	>.50		.27

Basic Hypothesis II

Significant in the Expected Direction - 3

Not Significant - 13

Significant in the Opposite Direction - 0

TABLE VII-10-Continued

Basic Hypothesis III (based on perfectly matched cases except for Jewish group where it was necessary to use all matched cases)

Not Significant - 12

Significant "Favoring" Intramarried Group - 3

Significant "Favoring" Intermarried Group - 1

deleterious effect upon the satisfaction and functioning of Catholics. The data for Protestants were not completely unambiguous, but there is a slight indication that intermarriage increases the satisfaction of Protestants. The evidence in the Jewish group is also not clear-cut. In general, comparable marriages do not seem to differ. On one variable, however, there was a significant difference between matched groups.

These data contain within them several unexpected findings that are relatively difficult to explain. For example, we found differing trends on variables that were thought to be correlated. Since some of these matters are not relevant to the test of the hypotheses, we will not present the rather lengthy discussions that are required to explain them.

Two matters of importance to this research will be considered. It is our belief that intermarried Catholic respondents may worry more about their marriages than do comparable intramarried Catholics; though the difference in our sample was not significant at the .10 level. The reason for the failure to find a significant difference lies, we believe, in the reluctance of intermarried Catholics to admit that they worry about their marriage. We cannot be certain of this, but this interpretation would be consistent with the evidence obtained from the comparisons on the PD Score.

If this guess is correct the evidence of Basic Hypothesis III in the Catholic groups is even weaker than previously indicated.

Secondly, in some cases there were no differences between unmatched groups, but the matched groups differed. This indicates that premarital factors may operate to obscure the effect of marriage type. Logically, of course, there is no reason why this should not happen. It did not occur to us, however, until the data for this section were analyzed. We thought if premarital factors had any effect they would produce differences between unmatched groups. This discovery serves to accentuate the need for studying matched groups if the effect of marriage type is to be isolated. Differences between unmatched groups do not prove that marriage type affects outcome. The failure to find differences between unmatched groups does not prove that marriage type does not affect outcome.

To summarize: The data did not support either hypothesis very well. In the Catholic group we found that premarital factors not only do not account for the differences between marriage types, but they act to obscure differences attributable to the effect of marriage type. In the Protestant group there is some possibility that the same thing occurs. If it does, the result is an obscuring of the beneficial effect of intermarriages. In the Jewish group, except on one variable, neither premarital factors nor marriage type led to differences between the groups. For this group, then, the data support Basic Hypothesis III but not Hypothesis II.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis B

In Subsidiary Hypothesis B we consider the relationship between interfaith marriage and several variables related to children. The second subsidiary hypothesis of Basic Hypothesis II states: The intermarried respondents

have fewer children than the intramarried and different relationships with them. For Basic Hypothesis III we predict that comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages will not differ on these variables.

Specific Hypothesis 1.

The first specific hypothesis to be tested concerns the number of children born to people in interfaith marriages as compared with intramarried respondents. We predict that the intermarried have fewer children, but that there is no difference between comparable marriages which differ on marriage type. Table VII-11, on the next page, presents the data on the fertility of the groups.

The hypothesis based upon Basic Hypothesis II is supported by all groups with the exception of the Protestant group. This conclusion is indicated by the mean number of children born and the proportions of childless couples.

TABLE VII-11

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO RESPONDENT, CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RELIGION - FIRST MARRIAGES ONLY. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y = TOTAL UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES.)

Number of Children	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
0	32.6	23.9	26.7	42.7	38.0	33.6	50.0	28.3	28.6	37.4	28.9	30.7
1	21.4	27.2	28.7	27.3	27.4	29.0	25.0	32.1	42.8	25.5	27.7	29.5
2	35.7	26.9	19.8	18.2	19.9	21.5	25.0	31.1	28.6	27.2	25.5	21.6
3	8.2	10.8	14.8	5.4	10.6	10.3	0.0	6.6	0.0	5.8	10.1	11.2
4	1.0	5.8	5.0	5.4	3.1	4.7	0.0	1.9	0.0	2.9	4.4	4.6
5-8	1.0	5.2	5.0	.9	.9	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	3.1	2.5
9-12	0.0	.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1	0.0
Total	98	427	101	110	226	107	20	106	21	243*	764*	241
Mean	1.28	1.73	1.65	1.08	1.17	1.28	.75	1.22	1.00	1.17	1.49	1.41
T(diff.means- X : Y)		2.56			.62			t=1.97			3.20	
P		.01			>.50			> .05			.001	
T(diff.means- X : Z)		1.88			1.12			t=.83			2.00	
P		.06			.26			< .50			< .05	

*One hundred and fifty-three cases are omitted because this was not the respondent's first marriage, and seven are not included because there was no answer given to the question. In all tables having to do with children the analysis is limited to cases in which the respondent has been married only once. To include those who have been married previously would lead to unnecessary ambiguity. Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

What effect does matching have upon the differences? Table VII-12, presents these data.

TABLE VII-12

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO RESPONDENT BETWEEN ALL MATCHES AND PERFECTLY MATCHED CASES (Z-X), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, X' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC, F.I. = FIDUCIAL INTERVAL.)

Difference	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
+5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.4	0.0
+4	1.0	1.9	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.0
+3	8.3	5.7	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.8	3.2
+2	12.5	13.2	12.4	18.9	20.0	20.0	13.2	15.8
+1	22.9	28.3	19.0	24.3	25.0	0.0	20.8	25.3
0	24.0	22.6	34.3	35.1	30.0	40.0	28.5	28.4
-1	14.6	17.0	10.5	10.8	10.0	20.0	12.9	14.7
-2	13.5	9.4	6.7	2.7	15.0	20.0	11.5	7.4
-3	1.0	0.0	5.7	5.4	0.0	0.0	3.4	2.1
-4	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.0
-5	1.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.4	1.0
N	96	53	105	37	20	5	235 ^a	95 ^b
Mean	+ .32	+ .34	+ .19	+ .19	+ .25	- .20	+ .22	+ .25
T-mean	1.88	1.70	1.12	.79	t = .83		2.00	1.56
P	.06	< .10	.26	< .50	< .50		< .05	.12
F.I. .05	± .33	.40	.33	.49	.63		.22	.32
F.I. .01	± .44	.54	.44	.65	.86		.28	.41

^aSixty-nine pairs in which one or both respondents had been married previously or gave no answer are omitted from the table. Included in the total are fourteen Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

^bFifteen pairs are omitted because one or both respondents gave no answer or were married previously.

In all the groups that showed significant differences between unmatched groups, the significance of the difference is less in the comparison of all matched cases. The significance is further lessened in the comparison of perfectly matched cases. In the Catholic and Total groups the difference remaining is significant. These findings indicate that marriage type does affect the fertility of Catholics. However, premarital factors also contribute to the difference between unmatched intermarried and intramarried Catholics. The hypothesis based on Basic Hypothesis II is supported for all groups with the exception of the Protestant group. The one from Basic Hypothesis III is supported by the Jewish and Protestant groups.⁹

Specific Hypothesis 2.

The second specific hypothesis of this section states: The intermarried who had children are more dissatisfied than the intermarried who did not have children. Intramarried respondents who had children are not more dissatisfied than intramarried respondents who did not have children. The relationship between having had children and dissatisfaction is the same in comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages. The PD Score is used to evaluate these hypotheses. The relevant data are presented in Table VII-13, which is on the next two pages.

To determine the validity of the first hypothesis we compare the H and N columns in the X and Y columns. In all cases the difference between

⁹ The relation between interfaith marriage and fertility is a complex one. In the attempt to unwind some of the complications an analysis of variance was conducted. The variables considered were marriage type, age at marriage, education, and number of children. The results and a discussion are presented in the appendix.

TABLE VII-13

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PD SCORES BY MARRIAGE TYPE, CONTROLLED BY HAD CHILDREN (H) AND DID NOT HAVE CHILDREN (N) AND RESPONDENTS EARLY RELIGION. - FIRST MARRIAGES ONLY. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y = UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. THREE DOTS (...)) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC.)

PD Score	Catholic						Protestant					
	X		Y		Z		X		Y		Z	
	H	N	H	N	H	N	H	N	H	N	H	N
0	31.3	46.9	37.4	36.3	39.2	51.8	48.5	51.1	50.0	51.2	49.3	55.6
1	19.4	21.9	25.2	33.3	31.1	37.0	25.8	27.6	22.1	25.6	18.3	25.0
2	19.4	15.6	16.9	13.7	16.2	3.7	9.1	8.5	10.7	7.0	12.7	5.6
3	11.9	6.2	8.6	11.8	1.4	7.4	6.1	8.5	11.4	5.8	12.7	8.3
4	7.5	6.2	7.4	3.9	10.8	0.0	4.5	2.1	3.6	5.8	2.8	2.8
5	4.5	0.0	3.4	0.0	1.4	0.0	4.5	2.1	2.1	3.5	4.2	0.0
6	4.5	3.1	1.2	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.8
7	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	67	32	326	102	74	27	66	47	140	86	71	36
Mean	1.84	1.16	1.38	1.17	1.18	.67	1.14	.89	1.03	1.05	1.14	.89
T(diff.means- H:N)	1.84		1.28		1.84		.90		...		.84	
P	<.10		>.10		<.10		<.50		...		<.50	

*Omitted from the table are 153 respondents who had been married previously. Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

those who had children and those who did not is greater in the intermarried group as compared with the unmatched intramarrried group. (In all cases those who had children are more dissatisfied.) Thus, the first part

TABLE VII-13 -- Continued

Jewish						Total					
X		Y		Z		X		Y		Z	
H	N	H	N	H	N	H	N	H	N	H	N
36.4	60.0	48.0	43.3	40.0	33.3	40.1	49.4	42.0	43.0	43.2	50.0
27.3	20.0	27.3	33.3	33.3	66.7	22.2	25.3	25.0	30.3	26.5	33.8
0.0	20.0	13.0	16.7	13.3	0.0	13.4	13.2	14.7	11.8	14.2	5.4
27.3	0.0	10.4	3.3	13.3	0.0	11.5	6.6	9.5	8.1	7.4	6.8
9.1	0.0	1.3	3.3	0.0	0.0	5.7	3.3	5.5	4.5	6.2	1.4
0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	1.1	2.6	1.4	2.5	0.0
0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.1	.7	.9	0.0	2.7
0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
11	10	77	30	15	6	157	91	545	221	162	74
1.45	.60	.90	.90	1.00	.67	1.46	.97	1.22	1.09	1.14	.86
t = 1.29		...		t = .69		2.85		1.18		1.50	
>.10		...		>.50		<.01		>.10		>.10	

of the hypothesis gains support.

We now compare the relationships within the intermarried groups with the relationships within the matched intramarried groups. The relationships are about the same in all instances with the exception of the Total group. In the three religious groups the significance of the difference between those who had and those who did not have children is about the

same in intermarriages and comparable intramarriages. It appears that the original differences were primarily due to premarital differences. Children lessen the satisfaction of intermarried respondents and comparable intramarried respondents almost equally.

Specific Hypothesis 3.

The next hypothesis states: The intermarried report significantly more problems with their children than do the intramarried. Comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages report equal numbers of problems with their children.

The first variable to be considered is a simple score designed to indicate the degree of trouble that the respondents report they had with their children. This score was called the Problems with Offspring (PO) Score. The questions used, and the responses which were given a point, are as follows:

1. "Here are some ideas that people have expressed. Would you tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one? Children give their parents more trouble than pleasure. (agree)

2. Recently there was an article in the papers by an authority on public opinion and problems in America. The authority found that almost everybody has personal worries these days. Here is a list of worries that people all over the country told him about. I will read each one, and would you tell me whether it is something that worries you? : Often, or Sometimes, or Never. G. Children. (often)

3. Most parents have concerns or problems about their children. What are (were) some of the problems you've had with yours? (had one or more problems which did not have to do with physical health.)

4. Have you ever gone (did you ever go) to anyone outside the household for help or advise on this? (yes, if the problem was not one of physical health.)

The various groups were compared in terms of their scores on this index. The distributions of scores will be found in Table VII-14, below.

TABLE VII-14

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON THE PO SCORE, CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RELIGION. - FIRST MARRIAGES ONLY (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y = UNMARRIED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. THREE DOTS (...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS SO SMALL THE STATISTIC WAS NOT CALCULATED.)

PO Score	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
0	20.9	33.4	42.0	36.4	27.8	28.2	27.3	30.0	33.3	28.0	31.7	35.3
1	35.8	35.0	28.4	28.8	35.7	36.6	36.4	32.5	33.3	33.1	34.7	31.7
2	28.4	24.5	20.3	22.7	32.9	32.4	27.3	28.6	33.3	26.1	27.2	27.5
3	9.0	6.7	9.4	12.1	3.6	2.8	9.1	5.2	0.0	10.2	5.7	5.4
4	6.0	.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	0.0	2.5	.7	0.0
N	67	326	74	66	140	71	11	77	15	157*	545*	167
Mean	1.43	1.06	.97	1.11	1.12	1.10	1.18	1.21	1.00	1.26	1.09	1.03
T(diff.means- X : Y)		2.09			...			...			1.83	
P		<.05			...			...			.07	
T(diff.means- X : Z)		1.94			.65			...			1.31	
P		>.05			>.50			...			>.10	

*Omitted from the table are 153 respondents who were married more than once, and 312 respondents who had no children. Included in the total are fifteen Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

The prediction of differences in score is supported only by the Catholic and Total groups. In both instances there is reason to believe that a difference in the predicted direction exists in the universe. Table VII-15, below, shows the effect that the matching procedure has on these differences.

TABLE VII-15

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN PO SCORE BETWEEN ALL MATCHED CASES AND PERFECTLY MATCHED CASES (Z-X), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION-FIRST MARRIAGES ONLY (X=INTERMARRIED GROUP, X'=PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z=ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, Z'=PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC. F.I.=FIDUCIAL INTERVAL.)

Difference	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
+3	0.0	0.0	4.3	5.3	0.0	0.0	1.8	1.9
+2	4.2	6.2	8.7	15.8	28.6	0.0	9.2	9.6
+1	25.0	25.0	13.0	10.5	14.3	100.0	18.3	21.2
0	25.0	21.9	37.0	36.8	42.8	0.0	31.2	26.9
-1	27.1	28.1	21.7	21.0	14.3	0.0	23.8	25.0
-2	14.6	15.6	10.9	5.3	0.0	0.0	11.9	11.5
-3	4.2	3.1	4.3	5.3	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.8
N	48	32	46	19	7	1	109 ^a	52 ^b
Mean	-.35	-.31	-.13	+.10	+.57		-.16	-.13
T-mean	1.94	1.37	.65	.29			1.31	.70
P	>.05	>.10	>.50	>.50			>.10	<.50
F.I..05	+.36	.46	.40	.71			.26	.38
F.I..01	+.48	.62	.54	.97			.34	.50

^aOmitted from the table are 195 pairs in which one or both respondents had been married previously or had had no children. Included in the total are eight Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are fifty-eight pairs in which one or both respondents had been married previously or had had no children.

The data support the hypothesis in the two groups which originally gave significant differences. The mean difference in all the matched pairs of the Catholic group is still significant, though there is a slight reduction in the degree of certainty. When the analysis is limited to the perfectly matched cases, the difference is reduced even more and no longer reaches an acceptable level of significance. In the Total groups neither comparison of matched groups gives significant differences.

As the final item of this section we will present the data on one of the questions used in the PO Score. The respondents were queried as to the kind of problem they had with their children. Their answers were grouped into the categories which are presented in Table VII-16.¹⁰

Perhaps the most noteworthy fact about this table is the lack of difference between the marriage types. Our previous tables indicated that the intermarried and intramarried had the same degree of difficulty with their children; this table indicates that the problems they have are also similar. This is not to deny, however, that there are a few significant differences. Perhaps the most striking is the much greater reporting of habit disturbance by intermarried Catholics than by intramarried Catholics.

¹⁰As some of the titles are too long to fit in the table we will here present the key word used in the table and the full title used in the questionnaire. 1. "Health": Physical Health (Illness, Handicap) 2. "Comp": Bad companions (Child on streets) 3. "Delinq.": (Delinquent behavior) 4. "School": (Learning difficulty, Teacher problem) 5. "Par. Confl.": (Child-parent conflict) 6. "Sib. confl.": (Sibling conflict) 7. "Peers": (Peer adjustment, Over-aggressive or seclusive behavior) 8. "Habits": Habit disturbances (Eating, sleeping, toilet training, masturbation, etc.) 9. "General": Generalized concern ("Child turn out all right," "Be happy," etc.) 10. "Other" 11. "None": No problems.

TABLE VII-16

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHAT ARE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS YOU'VE HAD WITH YOURS(CHILDREN)?" CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X= INTERMARRIAGE GROUP, Y= UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z= ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES), - FIRST MARRIAGES ONLY.

Response	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
Health	25.8	26.2	32.9	19.0	23.5	26.1	50.0	33.8	28.6	24.3	26.6	29.4
Comp.	7.6	7.6	2.7	9.5	6.6	5.3	20.0	2.7	7.1	9.2	6.6	4.3
Delinq.	1.5	2.5	0.0	1.6	1.5	2.9	10.0	1.4	0.0	2.6	2.1	1.2
School	15.2	13.2	1.4	15.9	17.6	17.4	20.0	13.5	28.6	15.8	14.4	11.0
Par.Confl.	12.1	11.4	12.3	19.0	15.4	18.8	20.0	9.4	0.0	15.1	12.1	13.5
Sib.Confl.	7.6	3.2	1.4	7.9	5.9	4.3	20.0	5.4	7.1	7.9	4.2	3.1
Peers	6.1	4.7	2.7	9.5	12.5	10.1	0.0	4.0	7.1	6.6	6.6	6.7
Habits	24.2	10.7	9.6	12.7	9.6	8.7	10.0	10.8	14.3	17.8	10.4	10.4
General	18.2	19.2	20.5	17.5	21.3	24.6	20.0	32.4	21.4	19.7	21.6	22.1
Other	10.6	14.8	9.6	12.7	17.6	18.8	30.0	17.6	7.1	13.2	15.9	13.5
None	27.3	29.3	30.1	23.8	22.8	23.2	10.0	20.3	28.5	25.0	26.5	26.4
N	66	317	73	63	136	69	10	74	14	152*	529*	163

*Omitted from the table are 153 respondents who were married previously, 312 who had no children, and twenty-one who gave no answer. Included in the total are fifteen Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

This concludes our discussion of variables concerning children.

Before going on to the next area we shall summarize our findings. Table VII-17, on the next page, contains the relevant material.

In the test of Basic Hypothesis II there were more significant dif-

TABLE VII-17

SUMMARY TABLE - SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS B: CHILDREN. PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (THREE DOTS (...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC. A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC.)

Variable		Cath.	Prot.	Jew.	Total
Number of Children	All Cases	.01	>.50	>.05	.001
	All Matched Cases	.06	.26	<.50	<.05
	Perfectly Matched Cases	<.10	<.50		.12
PO Score	All Cases	<.05	...	...	.07
	All Matched Cases	>.05	>.50	...	>.10
	Perfectly Matched Cases	>.10	>.50		<.50

Basic Hypothesis II

Significant in the Expected Direction - 5

Not Significant - 3

Significant in the Opposite Direction - 0

Basic Hypothesis III (based upon perfectly matched cases except for the Jewish group where it was necessary to use all matched cases.)

Not Significant - 6

Significant "Favoring" Intramarried Group - 1

Significant "Favoring" Intermarried Group - 0

ferences than would be expected on the basis of chance alone, and for the test of Basic Hypothesis III the number obtained was equal to the number expected. In general both hypotheses are supported. Premarital factors affect outcome on these variables but marriage type does not.

These conclusions must be modified somewhat when we consider the religious groups separately. In the Catholic group the fertility variable did not support the third basic hypothesis. The matching lessened, but did not remove, the difference. In this group we conclude that both marriage type and premarital factors contribute to the difference. In the Protestant group, on both variables, Hypothesis III but not Hypothesis II received support. In this group neither premarital factors nor marriage type lead to differences between interfaith and intrafaith marriages. In the Jewish group both hypotheses were supported by the fertility variable. Support for both hypotheses comes from both variables in the Total group. In these cases premarital factors, but not marriage type, produce differences between interfaith and intrafaith marriages.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis C

In Subsidiary Hypothesis C we turn to consideration of the interaction of the respondents and other individuals. This hypothesis states that the interpersonal relationships of intermarried respondents differ from those of the intramarried. Comparable marriages are not expected to differ.

Specific Hypothesis 1.

We will first compare the groups in regard to the number of relatives that they see regularly. We predict that the intermarried respondents see significantly fewer relatives than do the intramarried. Matched groups are not expected to show differences. Table VII-18, on the following page, presents the relevant data.

The comparisons which involve unmatched cases provide support for the hypothesis in all groups but the Protestant group. In each instance the

TABLE VII-18

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF FAMILIES WHICH ARE RELATIVES THAT THE RESPONDENT SEES, CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y = UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES.)

Number of Relatives	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
0	13.3	8.1	12.2	11.1	16.4	14.3	23.1	7.6	7.4	12.9	10.1	12.4
1	20.4	18.6	21.4	29.3	26.4	24.2	23.1	11.8	14.8	24.5	19.3	21.8
2-3	34.7	31.9	28.6	30.3	37.1	44.0	23.1	31.1	14.8	31.3	33.1	33.8
4-5	14.3	20.2	20.4	19.2	11.9	8.8	19.2	19.3	22.2	18.0	17.9	15.6
6-9	12.2	11.0	8.2	6.1	5.0	6.6	7.7	17.6	29.6	9.0	10.7	10.2
10-14	5.1	5.5	4.1	1.0	3.1	2.2	3.8	7.6	11.1	3.0	5.3	4.0
15	0.0	4.7	5.1	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	1.3	3.6	2.2
Total	98	382	98	99	159	91	26	119	27	233*	664*	225
Mean	3.24	4.08	3.71	2.94	2.48	2.49	2.71	4.75	5.07	3.07	3.80	3.34
T(diff. mean- X : Y)		2.07			1.33			t=2.49			2.81	
P		< .05			.18			.02			< .01	
T(diff. mean- X : Z)		.43			1.67			t=3.11			.35	
P		> .50			.10			< .01			> .50	

* Omitted from the tables are 270 respondents who had no relatives living in New York or gave no answer. Included in the total are fourteen Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

intramarrried see a significantly greater number of relatives. In the Protestant group the direction of the difference is not as predicted, but the difference is not significant. The data to test the second part of the hy-

pothesis will be found in Table VII-19, below.

TABLE VII-19

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN NUMBER OF RELATIVES SEEN BETWEEN ALL MATCHED CASES AND PERFECTLY MATCHED CASES (Z-X), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, X' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, Z' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC. F.I. = FIDUCIAL INTERVAL.)

Difference	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
+10.5 - 14	5.2	4.9	1.5	3.8	8.4	0.0	4.0	4.0
+ 6.5 - 10	5.2	4.9	2.9	3.8	4.2	0.0	4.0	4.1
+ 3.5 - 6	10.4	9.7	3.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	10.2	5.4
+ 1.5 - 3	20.8	18.5	23.6	23.0	20.8	57.2	23.3	24.2
+1	3.9	0.0	5.9	3.8	0.0	0.0	4.0	1.4
0	18.2	19.5	23.5	30.8	16.7	0.0	19.3	21.6
-1	2.6	4.9	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.7
-1.5 - 3	14.3	14.6	17.7	15.4	4.2	14.3	14.7	14.9
-3.5 - 6	10.4	17.0	7.3	3.8	12.5	28.6	9.1	13.5
-6.5 - 10	6.5	2.4	7.3	11.5	0.0	0.0	6.2	5.4
-10.5 - 14	2.6	2.4	4.4	3.8	0.0	0.0	2.9	2.8
N	77	41	68	26	24	7	176 ^a	74 ^b
Mean	+ .23	+ .06	- .85	- .58	+ 2.58	- .29	+ .12	- .03
T-mean	.42	.09	1.67	.65	t = 3.11		.35	.59
P	> .50	> .50	.10	> .50	< .01		> .50	> .50
F.I. .05	± 1.07	1.41	1.02	1.83	1.72		.67	1.02
F.I. .01	± 1.42	1.90	1.35	2.48	2.33		.88	1.35

^aOmitted from the table are 128 pairs in which one or both respondents had no relatives in N.Y. or gave no answer. Included in the total are seven Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

^bThirty-six pairs are omitted because of no answer or no relatives in N.Y.

In the Catholic and Total groups the differences between the matched samples are very small. The comparisons of perfectly matched cases yield differences of even less significance. We conclude, therefore, that comparable Catholics see equal numbers of relatives regardless of marriage type. The differences discovered in the comparison of the unmatched groups may be attributed to the lack of comparability in premarital characteristics.

In the Jewish group, on the other hand, the matched groups show significant differences. We have reason to believe that interfaith marriage is associated with estrangement from family in the Jewish group. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that the percentage of Jewish intermarried respondents who report they see no relatives is significantly higher than the percentage in the matched intramarried group who so respond.

The significant difference between the matched Protestant groups is, on the surface, surprising. However, as is explained in the footnote, below, we are quite certain that comparable Protestant interfaith and intrafaith marriages do not differ in the number of relatives that they see. The seemingly contradictory evidence to be found in the comparison using all matched cases is misleading.¹¹

¹¹ According to the T calculated, the difference between the marriage types is significant when all matched cases are used. However, the reader will note that in Table VII-18, the difference between the means of the matched cases is the same (.45) as it was when unmatched cases were compared. This latter difference is not significant. In the comparison of matched pairs we had to eliminate all cases in which one or both respondents gave no answer in order to be able to calculate the T. This resulted in a biased sample of differences being used. In the group used to calculate the T test the average difference was .85, not .45. (see Table VII-19) The latter is more accurate since it is based on all the cases. We cannot calculate a T on this figure, but we may be certain that the difference is not significant.

Specific Hypothesis 2.

The second specific hypothesis predicts that there will be significant differences between the number of close friends reported by the intermarried and the number reported by the intramarried. It is not expected that differences will be found in the comparison of matched groups. The data to test the first part of this hypothesis will be found in Table VII-20, below.

TABLE VII-20

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF CLOSE FRIENDS, CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y = UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES.)

Number of Friends	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
0	4.8	10.8	8.1	8.5	6.0	8.7	3.8	4.0	7.6	6.4	8.4	8.9
1	7.2	7.9	8.1	6.2	4.4	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.7	6.1	6.2	5.5
2-3	27.2	26.7	27.2	23.2	21.3	20.5	19.2	19.4	22.2	24.4	24.1	23.5
4-5	20.0	20.5	22.4	18.6	18.5	20.5	26.9	16.9	11.1	19.7	19.2	19.8
6-9	14.4	11.0	13.6	19.4	14.4	14.2	26.9	23.4	14.8	18.0	13.8	13.3
10-14	16.0	11.5	7.2	9.3	18.1	17.3	7.7	21.8	25.9	13.2	15.4	15.4
15+	10.4	11.5	13.6	14.7	17.3	15.0	11.5	10.5	14.8	12.2	12.9	13.6
N	125	453	125	129	249	127	26	124	27	295*	834*	293
Mean	6.21	5.60	5.69	6.26	7.25	6.82	6.40	7.23	7.54	6.32	6.35	6.43
T(diff.means- X : Y)		1.26			1.83			t=.86			.09	
P		.21			.07			< .50			> .50	
T(diff.means- X : Z)		.95			.84			t=1.05			.16	
P		.34			.40			> .10			> .50	

*Omitted from the table are thirty-eight respondents who gave no answer. Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

The prediction that the groups would differ on number of friends finds support only in the Protestant group. It appears likely that intermarried Protestants have fewer friends than intramarried Protestants. The effect of the matching will be found in Table VII-21, below.

The data for the Catholic, Jewish, and Total groups are unambiguous. There are no significant differences between unmatched or matched samples. Neither premarital factors nor marriage type lead to differences between interfaith and intrafaith marriages.

In the case of the Protestants the data are not clear-cut. On the basis of the comparison of the perfectly matched cases we would conclude that marriage type affects the number of friends that Protestants have. This is contrary, however, to the conclusion called for by the comparison which uses all matched cases. The former will be accepted since the perfectly matched cases are thought to give the best test of the third hypothesis.¹²

Specific Hypothesis 3.

We also have information as to the respondent's satisfaction with the number of friends he has. We hypothesize that a significantly higher percentage of the intermarried report that they want more friends, but that

¹² It is possible, of course, that the errors in matching acted to obscure the differences which actually exist. The author is surprised, however, that a small increase in accuracy would cause such a large increase in the difference.

TABLE VII-21

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN NUMBER OF CLOSE FRIENDS BETWEEN ALL MATCHED CASES AND PERFECTLY MATCHED CASES (Z-X), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENTS EARLY RELIGION. (X= INTERMARRIED GROUP, X'= PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z= ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, Z'= PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC. F.I.= FIDUCIAL INTERVAL.)

Difference	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
+10.5 - 15	8.2	12.5	8.0	16.3	4.0	0.0	7.5	13.6
+6.5 - 10	8.9	5.4	13.7	16.3	24.0	0.0	12.6	9.6
+3.5 - 6	4.8	5.4	7.2	4.6	12.0	0.0	7.3	4.8
+1.5 - 3	13.1	17.9	12.0	13.9	16.0	20.0	12.2	16.4
+1	.8	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.4	1.0
0	17.2	10.7	17.7	16.3	16.0	60.0	17.5	15.4
-1	2.5	1.8	.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.0
-1.5 - 3	12.3	17.9	16.8	13.9	8.0	20.0	14.1	16.3
-3.5 - 6	12.4	10.7	9.6	11.6	4.0	0.0	10.2	10.6
-6.5 - 10	11.4	10.7	6.4	0.0	12.0	0.0	9.8	5.8
-10.5 - 15	8.2	5.4	7.2	6.9	4.0	0.0	7.1	5.7
N	122	56	124	43	25	5	285 ^a	104 ^b
Mean	-.56	+.22	+.48	+2.00	+1.30		+.06	+.96
T-mean	.95	.26	.84	2.00	t=1.05		.16	1.55
P	.34	>.50	.40	.05	>.10		>.50	>.10
F.I..05	± 1.17	1.71	1.13	2.02	2.55		.74	1.23
F.I..01	± 1.55	2.28	1.49	2.71	3.46		.98	1.63

^a Nine pairs are omitted because one or both respondents gave no answer. Included in the total are fourteen Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

^b Six pairs are omitted because one or both respondents gave no answer.

comparable groups do not differ in this respect. The data to test this hypothesis are presented in Table VII-22, below.

TABLE VII-22

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "DO YOU FEEL YOU HAVE AS MANY FRIENDS AS YOU WANT, OR WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE MORE FRIENDS?" CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y = UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES.)

Response	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
Enough	64.8	73.3	81.0	66.9	63.3	62.0	44.8	61.2	58.6	63.9	68.2	68.5
Want More	25.2	26.7	19.0	33.1	36.6	38.0	55.2	38.8	41.4	36.1	31.8	31.5
Total	128	461	126	130	251	129	29	129	29	302*	849*	298
T(%X: % Y- Want More)		1.81			.69			t=1.86			1.34	
P		.07			.49			<.10			.18	
T(%X: % Z- Want More)		2.81			.80			t=.78			1.05	
P		<.01			.42			<.50			.29	

*Omitted from the table are sixteen respondents who gave no answer. Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

As predicted, a significantly higher percentage of both Catholic and Jewish intermarried respondents said they wanted more friends than they had. The proportions so responding are equal in the two marriage types of the Protestant and Total groups. The effect of the matching procedure is shown in Table VII-23, below.

The comparison of comparable Jewish respondents in different mar-

TABLE VII-23

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINATIONS OF RESPONSES IN MATCHED PAIRS IN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION, "DO YOU FEEL YOU HAVE AS MANY FRIENDS AS YOU WANT, OR WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE MORE FRIENDS?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, X' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. IN ALL INSTANCES THE FIRST ENTRY REFERS TO THE RESPONSE OF THE INTRAMARRIED RESPONDENT AND THE ENTRY AFTER THE DASH TO THE RESPONSE OF THE INTERMARRIED RESPONDENT WITH WHOM HE IS MATCHED. W = WANTS MORE FRIENDS, E = HAS ENOUGH FRIENDS. THREE DOTS (...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC. A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC.)

Response	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
W-W	7.1	10.3	13.4	15.9	24.1	28.6	12.5	13.8
E-E	52.4	60.3	41.7	29.5	27.6	28.6	44.2	45.9
W-E	11.9	12.1	25.2	29.5	17.2	28.6	19.2	20.2
E-W	28.6	17.2	19.7	25.0	31.0	14.3	24.0	20.2
N	126	58	127	44	29	7	296 ^a	109 ^b
% X-want More	35.7	27.5	33.1	40.9	55.2		36.5	34.0
% Z-want More	19.0	22.4	38.6	45.4	41.4		31.7	34.0
T (%X : %Z- Want More)	2.81	.42	.80	.21	t = .78		1.05	...
P	<.01	>.50	.42	>.50	<.50		.29	...

^a Eight pairs in which one or both respondents gave no answer are omitted from the table. Included in the total are fourteen Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

^b One pair is omitted from the table because one of the respondents gave no answer.

riage types does not yield a significant difference. The indication is that the original difference is not associated with marriage type. The situation in the Catholic group is somewhat more complicated. The comparison using

all matched cases yields a significant difference, but when the analysis is limited to the perfectly matched cases there is no significant difference.

Though the direction of the change is different, this situation is analagous to the one seen in the Protestant group on the previous variable. We will again accept the evidence of the perfectly matched groups as an indication of the relationship between comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages. This evidence leads us to conclude that in the Catholic group comparable groups do not differ; the difference between unmatched cases is due to differences in premarital variables.

Specific Hypothesis 4.

In addition to the items discussed, a general simple score was constructed regarding interpersonal relationships. It was entitled the Suspiciousness (S) Score and was meant to indicate the degree to which the respondent expresses suspicion of other people. The questions used and the responses given a point are as follows:

1. "Here are some ideas that people have expressed. Would you tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one?

Behind your back people say all kinds of things about you. (agree)

2. We have talked about parents and children. I have here words of advice parents often give their children. Please tell me whether you would or would not give your child this advice.

Never show your feelings to others. (yes)

3. Same introduction as number 2.

Always be on guard with people. (yes)

4. Here are some other questions to consider. Would you answer "yes"

or "no" to each one?

Do you sometimes feel that people are against you without any good reason? (yes)

5. Now I'd like your opinion on a number of different things. I'm going to read you several statements. Some people agree with these statements some people disagree with them. As I read each one, will you tell me whether you more or less agree with it, or more or less disagree with it. For example here is this statement:

These days a person really doesn't know whom he can count on. (agree)

6. Same introduction as number 5.

Most public officials (people in public office) are not really interested in the problems of the average man. (agree)

7. Do you worry about: personal enemies? (often)

Our hypotheses are as before: a significant difference expected in the comparison of unmatched groups; no difference expected in the comparison of matched groups.

TABLE VII-24

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON THE SUSPICIOUSNESS (S) SCORE, CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RELIGION. (X=INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y=UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z=ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC.)

S Score	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
0	17.2	7.0	11.7	18.9	23.3	22.7	20.7	24.0	24.1	18.4	14.4	17.8
1	12.5	16.6	18.8	22.0	23.0	23.5	20.7	25.6	20.7	17.8	19.7	21.4
2	21.9	23.9	23.4	22.0	17.9	15.9	24.1	20.2	31.0	22.0	21.6	20.7
3	18.0	20.0	15.6	18.2	17.1	18.9	10.3	18.6	20.7	17.4	19.2	18.4
4	14.1	15.6	16.4	11.4	9.7	7.6	13.8	3.9	0.0	12.8	12.0	10.5
5	12.5	12.6	10.2	4.5	8.2	9.1	6.9	6.2	0.0	8.2	10.2	8.6
6	3.9	4.3	3.9	3.0	.8	1.5	3.4	1.6	3.4	3.3	2.8	2.6
Total	128	469	128	132	257	132	29	129	29	304*	863*	304
Mean	2.52	2.75	2.52	2.07	1.94	1.98	2.10	1.78	1.66	2.26	2.36	2.19
T (diff.-means- X : Y)		1.42			.50			t=.99			.96	
P		.16			.45			<.50			.34	
T (diff.-means- X : Z)		...			.50			t=1.12			.75	
P		...			>.50			<.50			.45	

*Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

The data give no evidence that there are differences between the marriage groups. Table VII-25, presents the comparisons of matched groups.

TABLE VII-25

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN SUSPICIOUSNESS (S) SCORE BETWEEN ALL MATCHED AND PERFECTLY MATCHED CASES (Z-X), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, X' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, Z' = PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, A BLANK INDICATES THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC. F.I. = FIDUCIAL INTERVAL)

Difference	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
+6	.8	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.3	.9
+5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	.7	0.0
+4	7.0	0.0	4.5	6.7	0.0	0.0	4.9	2.7
+3	7.0	8.6	6.8	2.2	0.0	0.0	5.9	5.4
+2	9.4	8.6	10.6	4.4	13.8	14.3	10.2	7.3
+1	14.8	19.0	15.2	26.7	13.8	0.0	15.1	20.9
0	20.3	22.4	24.2	24.4	20.7	42.8	23.0	24.5
-1	16.4	10.3	15.2	17.8	20.7	14.3	16.1	13.6
-2	8.6	10.3	10.6	4.4	13.8	14.3	9.9	8.2
-3	9.4	12.1	7.6	4.4	6.9	0.0	7.9	8.2
-4	4.7	5.2	3.0	6.7	3.4	14.3	3.9	6.4
-5	1.6	1.7	.8	2.2	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.8
-6	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	3.4	0.0	1.0	0.0
N	128	58	132	45	29	7	304*	110
Mean	-.01	-.24	-.09	-.09	-.45		-.08	-.21
T-Mean	.04	.84	.50	.30	t=1.12		.75	1.05
P	>.50	>.50	>.50	>.50	<.50		.45	.29
F.I..05	±.39	.56	.35	.61	.82		.24	.39
F.I..01	±.53	.74	.46	.81	1.11		.31	.52

*Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

These data also show no differences. Neither premarital factors nor marriage type affect outcome.¹³ This concludes the presentation of the data in the area of interpersonal relationships. Table VII-26, below summarizes our findings.

TABLE VII-26

SUMMARY TABLE - SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS C: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS. PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (A MINUS SIGN IN PARENTHESES (-) AFTER A PROBABILITY FIGURE INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT IN THE DIRECTION PREDICTED BY HYPOTHESIS II. THREE DOTS (...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC. A BLANK INDICATES THAT THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC. A QUESTION MARK AFTER A PROBABILITY FIGURE INDICATES THAT THERE IS SOME QUESTION ABOUT THE FIGURE WHICH IS DISCUSSED IN THE TEXT.)

Variable		Cath.	Prot.	Jew.	Total
Number of Relatives Seen	All Cases	<.05	.18(-)	.02	<.01
	All Matched Cases	>.50	.10?	<.01	>.50
	Perfectly Matched Cases	>.50	>.50		>.50
Close Friends	All Cases	.21(-)	.07	<.50	>.50
	All Matched Cases	.34	.40?	>.10	>.50
	Perfectly Matched Cases	>.50	.05?		>.10
Have Enough Friends?	All Cases	.07	.49(-)	<.10	.18
	All Matched Cases	<.01?	.42	<.50	.29
	Perfectly Matched Cases	>.50?	>.50		...

¹³ The lack of difference does not seem attributable to a lack of discriminatory power on the part of this score. Some of the differences between religions are significant, for example.

TABLE VII-26 Continued

Variable		Cath.	Prot.	Jew.	Total
S Score	All Cases	.16(-)	.45	<.50	.34
	All Matched Cases	...	>.50	<.50	.45
	Perfectly Matched Cases	>.50	>.50		.29

Basic Hypothesis II

Significant in the Expected Direction - 6

Not Significant - 10

Significant in the Opposite Direction - 0

Basic Hypothesis III (based on perfectly matched cases except for Jewish group where it was necessary to use all matched cases.)

Not Significant - 14

Significant "Favoring" Intramarried Group - 2

Significant "Favoring" Intermarried Group - 0

In general, both hypotheses are supported. Hypothesis II receives fair support in the Catholic and Jewish groups and little support in the other two groups. The test of Hypothesis III is complicated by two instances in which the results of the comparisons using all matched cases do not agree with the data on the perfectly matched respondents. Using the latter test as the criterion we would conclude that Basic Hypothesis III receives strong support only in the Catholic and Total groups. Matched groups of Jews and Protestants show significant differences on one variable.

The trends in the various groups lead to the following conclusions: Premarital factors, but not marriage type, lead to differences on these

variables between Catholic intermarried and Catholic intramarried respondents. With one possible exception, neither premarital factors nor marriage type seem to lead to differences between interfaith and intrafaith marriages involving Protestants. Among the Jews, marriage type seems to affect the relationship between groups on one variable and premarital factors on another.

Finally, we note that the errors in matching appear to have an appreciable effect upon the results in some instances. From the evidence of this chapter the effect may be either to hide the differences that exist or to produce differences.

The Test of Subsidiary Hypothesis D

In this section we will consider the relationship between several indices of religiosity and interfaith marriage. The data will test the prediction that intermarried persons have less tie to religion than do intramarried people, but comparable intermarriages and intramarriages have an equal tie.

Specific Hypothesis 1.

The first specific hypothesis states that intermarried respondents more frequently report that religion has no importance to them. Matched groups are not expected to differ. Table VII-27, below, presents the relevant data.

In all groups, but the Protestant group, the first prediction is supported; a significantly greater percentage of the intermarried report

TABLE VII-27

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO THE RESPONDENT, CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RELIGION. (X=INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y=UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z=ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC)

Importance of Religion	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
Very	49.2	59.9	60.8	33.3	43.0	40.2	31.0	18.0	13.8	39.8	48.2	45.8
Somewhat	33.6	34.9	31.2	46.2	41.0	40.2	13.8	43.0	48.3	38.2	38.1	37.5
Not at All	17.2	5.2	8.0	20.4	16.0	19.7	55.2	39.0	37.9	22.0	13.7	16.6
Total	128	464	125	132	256	128	29	128	28	304*	856*	301
T(%X-Not: %Y-Not)		3.43			1.05			t=1.76			3.19	
P		<.001			.29			<.10			.001	
T(%X-Not: %Z-Not)		1.59			...			t=1.05			1.64	
P		.12			...			>.10			.10	

*Omitted from the table are seven respondents who gave no answer. Included in the total are twenty-three Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

that religion has no importance. The effect of the matching is seen in Table VII-28, below.

In all groups, when all matched cases are compared the differences are less significant than the ones obtained from the comparison of the unmatched respondents. When the analysis is limited to the perfectly matched cases the differences are reduced further. We have an indication that pre-

TABLE VII-28

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINATIONS OF RESPONSES IN MATCHED PAIRS IN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION, "QUITE ASIDE FROM CHURCH (SYNAGOGUE) GOING HOW IMPORTANT WOULD YOU SAY RELIGION IS TO YOU: VERY IMPORTANT (V), SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT (S), NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL (N)?" CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X=INTERMARRIED GROUP, Z=ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, X'= PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z'= PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. IN ALL INSTANCES THE FIRST ENTRY REFERS TO THE RESPONSE OF THE INTRAMARRIED RESPONDENT AND THE ENTRY AFTER THE DASH TO THE RESPONSE OF THE INTERMARRIED RESPONDENT WITH WHOM HE IS MATCHED. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC. A BLANK INDICATES THAT THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC.)

Responses	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
V,S-V,S	76.0	86.2	66.7	68.9	27.6	28.6	66.8	75.4
N-N	0.0	0.0	6.8	6.7	20.7	28.6	5.0	4.5
N-V,S,	8.0	3.4	12.9	11.1	17.2	0.0	11.6	6.4
V,S,-N	16.0	10.3	13.6	13.3	34.5	42.8	16.6	13.6
N	125	58	132	45	29	7	301*	110
%X-Not at All	16.0	10.3	20.4	20.0	55.2		21.6	18.1
%Z-Not at All	8.0	3.4	19.7	17.8	37.9		16.6	10.9
T (%X : %Z - Not at All)	1.59	1.02	...	...	t=1.05		1.64	1.52
P	.12	>.10	...	...	<.50		.10	>.10

*Three pairs in which one or both respondents gave no answer are omitted from the table. Included in the total are fifteen Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

marital factors, rather than intermarriage, caused the original differences in religiosity that were observed.

Specific Hypothesis 2.

Another indication of the respondent's religiosity is the frequency of his church attendance. We hypothesize that the intermarried respondents will say they never attend church relatively more frequently than the intramarried. Comparable groups are not expected to differ. Table VII-29 presents the data to test the first part of the hypothesis.

TABLE VII-29

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FREQUENCY OF RESPONDENT'S CHURCH ATTENDANCE, CONTROLLED BY MARRIAGE TYPE AND RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X = INTERMARRIED GROUP, Y = UNMATCHED INTRAMARRIED GROUP, Z = ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC)

Frequency	Catholic			Protestant			Jewish			Total		
	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z	X	Y	Z
Daily	0.0	3.2	5.8	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.8	1.9	2.8
2 /wk.	4.6	9.8	10.0	2.1	3.9	2.0	8.7	2.5	0.0	3.8	7.2	5.6
1 /wk.	33.0	49.5	47.5	22.3	25.4	21.8	13.0	5.0	4.8	25.1	37.4	32.9
Few/Mo.	19.3	14.4	10.8	13.8	22.9	23.8	0.0	3.8	0.0	17.2	15.5	15.5
Few/Yr.	26.6	14.4	13.3	33.0	30.7	27.7	13.0	50.0	61.9	27.2	23.3	23.4
1 /Yr.	2.8	2.3	2.5	4.2	4.9	5.0	4.3	8.8	0.0	3.8	3.9	4.0
1 /Yr.	2.8	1.2	1.7	3.2	1.0	0.0	4.3	2.5	4.8	2.9	1.2	1.2
Never	11.0	5.1	8.3	19.1	11.2	19.8	56.5	27.5	28.6	19.2	9.4	14.7
Total	109	430	120	94	205	101	23	80	21	239*	721*	252
T (%X : %Y- Never)		1.84			1.72			t=2.39			3.58	
P		.07			.08			<.05			<.001	
T (%X : %Z- Never)		...			...			t=1.53			.90	
P		...			...			>.10			.37	

*Omitted from the table are 207 respondents who gave no answer. Included in the total are nineteen Eastern Orthodox respondents not included in the body of the table.

The table indicates that in all groups the intermarried are more likely to report that they never attend church. The effect of the matching may be seen in Table VII-30, below.

TABLE VII-30

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINATIONS OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE IN MATCHED PAIRS, CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (X=INTERMARRIED GROUP, Z=ALL MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES, X'= PERFECTLY MATCHED INTERMARRIED CASES, Z'= PERFECTLY MATCHED INTRAMARRIED CASES. IN ALL INSTANCES THE FIRST ENTRY REFERS TO THE ATTENDANCE OF THE INTRAMARRIED RESPONDENT AND THE ENTRY AFTER THE DASH TO THE RESPONSE OF THE INTERMARRIED RESPONDENT WITH WHOM HE IS MATCHED. N= NEVER ATTENDS CHURCH, S= ATTENDS CHURCH SOMETIMES. THREE DOTS(...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC. A BLANK INDICATES THAT THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC.)

Responses	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish		Total	
	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'	Z-X	Z'-X'
S-S	83.5	89.4	68.4	80.0	20.6	0.0	72.9	81.6
N-N	1.9	0.0	2.6	0.0	33.3	50.0	4.9	2.6
S-N	7.8	8.5	14.5	8.0	40.0	50.0	12.8	10.5
N-S	6.8	2.1	14.5	12.0	6.7	0.0	9.4	5.3
N	103	47	76	25	15	4	203 ^a	76 ^b
%X-Never	9.7	8.5	17.1	8.0	73.3		17.7	13.2
%Z-Never	8.7	2.1	17.1	12.0	40.0		14.3	7.9
T(%X:%Z-Never)	...	.88	...	...	t=1.53		.90	.87
P	...	<.50	...	...	>.10		.37	<.50

^aOmitted from the table are 101 pairs in which one or both gave no answer. Included in the total are nine Eastern Orthodox pairs not included in the body of the table.

^bOmitted from the table are thirty-four pairs in which one or both gave no answer.

As predicted, comparable interfaith and intrafaith marriages do not

differ in church attendance. Thus, the third basic hypothesis is supported by all groups. Since both basic hypotheses are supported, we may conclude that differences in church attendance between intermarried and intramarried respondents are due to differences in premarital factors rather than to marriage type. Table VII-31, below, presents a summary of the data bearing upon Subsidiary Hypothesis D.

TABLE VII-31

SUMMARY TABLE - SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS D: RELIGIOSITY. PROBABILITIES OF OBTAINING DIFFERENCES AS LARGE AS THE OBTAINED DIFFERENCES IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSE; CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. THREE DOTS (...) INDICATE THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF THE STATISTIC. A BLANK INDICATES THAT THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH CASES TO ALLOW CALCULATION OF A MEANINGFUL STATISTIC.)

Variable		Cath.	Prot.	Jew.	Total
Importance of Religion	All Cases	<.001	.29	<.10	.001
	All Matched Cases	.12	...	>.10	.10
	Perfectly Matched Cases	>.10	...		>.10
Frequency of Church Attendance	All Cases	.07	.08	<.05	<.001
	All Matched Cases	...	...	>.10	.37
	Perfectly Matched Cases	<.50	...		<.50

Basic Hypothesis II

Significant in the Expected Direction - 7

Not Significant - 1

Significant in the Opposite Direction - 0

Basic Hypothesis III (based on perfectly matched cases except for Jewish group where it was necessary to use all matched cases.)

Not Significant - 8

Significant "Favoring" Intramarried Group - 0

Significant "Favoring" Intermarried Group - 0

With a single exception, all tests provide support for the basic hypotheses. We may conclude that premarital factors, but not marriage type, affect religiosity.

The Test of Basic Hypotheses II and III

We have presented the data to test the subsidiary hypotheses of Basic Hypotheses II and III. We shall now judge the validity of the basic hypotheses.

The basic hypotheses may be evaluated directly from the tests of the specific hypotheses. The specific hypotheses of Basic Hypothesis II produced twenty-one significant differences in the predicted direction, twenty-seven non-significant differences, and no significant differences which opposed the hypothesis. Since only five significant differences would be expected upon the basis of chance, the hypothesis is, in general, supported fairly well.

Basic Hypothesis III requires for its support that there be few significant differences. We found six differences which is approximately the number that would be expected if only chance were operating. Thus, Basic Hypothesis III is supported.¹⁴

Of greater interest than the above, are the tests of the hypotheses with religion controlled and the relationships between the hypotheses. These are best seen at the level of the subsidiary hypotheses. Table VII-32, below,

¹⁴We should note, however, that three of the five differences favoring the intramarried respondents are in the Catholic group, and we think there may be a fourth significant difference in this group. We have reason to believe that comparable marriages in this religion are not the same on all premarital factors.

presents the relevant material.

TABLE VII-32

SUMMARY TABLE - EVALUATIONS OF SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESES OF BASIC HYPOTHESIS II (INTERFAITH AND INTRAFaITH MARRIAGES DIFFER ON POSTMARITAL VARIABLES) AND BASIC HYPOTHESIS III (COMPARABLE INTERFAITH AND INTRAFaITH MARRIAGES DO NOT DIFFER ON POSTMARITAL FACTORS), CONTROLLED BY RESPONDENT'S EARLY RELIGION. (A DASH (-) INDICATES THAT THE SUBSIDIARY HYPOTHESIS WAS NOT SUPPORTED, AN ASTERISK (*) INDICATES THAT THE HYPOTHESIS RECEIVED SOME SUPPORT, AND TWO ASTERISKS (**) INDICATE GOOD SUPPORT FOR THE HYPOTHESIS. THE GENERAL EVALUATION IS BASED UPON THE NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES OBTAINED IN RELATION TO THE NUMBER EXPECTED UPON THE BASIS OF CHANCE ALONE.)

Subsidiary Hypothesis	Total		Cath.		Prot.		Jew.		Gen. Eval.	
	II	III	II	III	II	III	II	III	II	III
A. Adjustment	-	**	-	-	-	*	-	*	-	*
B. Children	**	**	**	*	-	**	*	**	*	**
C. Interpersonal Relationships	-	**	*	**	-	*	*	*	*	*
D. Religiosity	**	**	**	*	*	**	**	**	**	**

In terms of the general evaluations of the subsidiary hypotheses, both basic hypotheses are supported. The only exception to this is that the second hypothesis is not validated by the adjustment factors. Unmatched marriage groups do not differ on this factor.

Basic Hypothesis II receives its greatest support in the Catholic and Jewish groups. It receives somewhat less support in the Total group, and little support in the Protestant group. Basic Hypothesis III is supported more strongly than Basic Hypothesis II. Only in the Catholic group is there evidence which strongly indicates that the hypothesis is not valid for all variables. The subsidiary hypotheses relating to children and religiosity receive the greatest support, and the variables having to do with

adjustment the least.

Each of the combinations of asterisks and dashes in Table VII-32, has meaning. A dash for Hypothesis II in combination with an asterisk for Hypothesis III¹⁵ indicates that neither premarital factors nor marriage type lead to differences between interfaith and intrafaith marriages. Asterisks for both hypotheses¹⁶ indicate that premarital factors, but not marriage type, lead to differences between the groups.

Dashes for both hypotheses¹⁷ indicate that marriage type, but not premarital factors, cause differences. In such cases premarital variables are not unimportant, however, for they serve to mask differences between unmatched groups. This combination is of particular interest as it was not considered in the original formulation. It was thought that if premarital factors operated they would only act so as to produce differences between unmatched groups.

The combination of an asterisk for Hypothesis II and a dash for Hypothesis III¹⁸ does not occur in the evaluations of the subsidiary hypotheses. It does occur in the test of the specific hypotheses, however, and it indicates that marriage type has relevance for outcome. Premarital factors

¹⁵This means no differences between unmatched groups and no differences between matched groups.

¹⁶This means differences between unmatched groups but no difference between matched groups.

¹⁷This means no differences between unmatched groups but differences between matched groups.

¹⁸This means differences between unmatched groups and differences between matched groups.

may or may not be of relevance in this situation. If the difference between unmatched groups is larger than the difference between matched samples, the premarital factors contribute to the difference. If the differences are the same, all of the difference is attributable to the effect of marriage type.¹⁹ These possibilities were also not considered in the original design of the study.

The data in Table VII-32, may, therefore, be summarized as follows:

1) Premarital factors, but not marriage type, lead to differences between marriage groups - a) Total group on children and religiosity variables, b) Catholic group on children, interpersonal relationships, and religiosity variables, c) Protestant group on religiosity variables, d) Jewish group on children, interpersonal relationships, and religiosity variables.

2) Neither premarital factors nor marriage type lead to differences between marriage groups - a) Total group on adjustment and interpersonal relationships variables, b) Protestant group on adjustment, children, and interpersonal relationships variables, c) Jewish group on adjustment variables.

3) Marriage type leads to differences between the marriage groups and premarital differences act to obscure the differences - a) Catholic group on adjustment variables.

In general, it appears that our original formulation was overly simplistic. Several of the observed combinations of support and non-support of the basic hypotheses were not anticipated. We also did not expect the different trends in the different religions and on the different factors.

¹⁹ This discussion assumes, of course, that uncontrolled premarital factors are not operating.

The direction of change in the original basic hypotheses is indicated by this discussion. A variety of hypotheses, which would more clearly state the relative contributions of premarital and marriage type variables, would appear necessary. In addition, different hypotheses seem to be needed for different postmarital variables.

The following hypotheses are suggested by our data:

1. Premarital factors, but not marriage type, affect outcome in all groups on variables relating to religiosity.
2. In all groups except the Protestant group, premarital factors, but not marriage type, affect outcome on variables relating to children.
3. The adjustment of Catholics is lessened by intermarriage.
4. Except for religiosity variables, neither premarital factors nor marriage type lead to differences between intermarried and intramarried Protestants.
5. Except for the adjustment variables, premarital factors, but not marriage type, lead to differences in the Catholic and Jewish groups.

We turn, in the next chapter, to a general interpretation of some of the findings and some concluding considerations.

CHAPTER VIII

Interpretation of Postmarital Data and Conclusion

The conclusion called for on the basis of the data of Chapter VII is that premarital factors account for most, but not all, of the differences that are observed when intermarried respondents are compared with intramarried respondents on postmarital variables. Marriage type is, then, of some relevance for marriage outcome. Its greatest effect appears in the Catholic group on the variables having to do with adjustment and satisfaction. In this chapter we will attempt to account for the fact that interfaith marriage seems to have an adverse effect upon the adjustment of the Catholic group but no effect upon Protestants and Jews.

The key to the deleterious effect of intermarriage upon the adjustment of some Catholics¹ is to be found, we believe, in the unique strains to which they are subjected. These strains have several sources. They are: a) the strong opposition to intermarriage of the Catholic Church and Catholic families, b) the failure, or inability, of Catholic intermarried respondents to follow behavior patterns which were internalized early in life, c) a continued identification with reference groups, i.e., Church and family, in which they are not completely accepted.

The first point does not require much discussion. The opposition of the Catholic Church to interfaith marriage is quite explicit. We would

¹It should be noted that the analysis to follow is not meant to apply to all intermarried Catholics. It is descriptive only of certain of these people. If we postulated universal applicability we would not be explaining our data, for they show only a small excess of maladjustment among intermarried Catholics as compared with intramarried Catholics.

expect, in addition, that many of the intermarried Catholics met opposition from their parents when they chose their mates, for most of them had religious parents.² We believe that the opposition of the Church and of family represents an important source of potential strain for the intermarried Catholic.

The pertinence of the second factor is also clear-cut. Undoubtedly, intermarriage makes it difficult for some Catholics to follow religious practices that are important to them. The same may be said for a variety of patterns which have to do with family life. The most obvious, but not the only, example is reproductive behavior. Unique Catholic patterns do exist, and some of the intermarried Catholics internalized them. Some of these people are, however, not following them, and this represents a potential source of pressure.

The opposition of Church and family and the failure to follow behavior patterns which were learned early in life might not produce strain for the intermarried Catholic if he had effectively broken his ties to the past. Our evidence indicates, however, that many of the intermarried Catholics have not broken their ties.³ Because of this, the potential strains are trans-

² Three intermarried Catholics came from secular backgrounds, and in a total of twelve cases religion was not important to both parents. Twenty-six respondents had parents who were themselves intermarried. All of the others had at least one parent for whom religion had importance. We believe this latter group contains many respondents whose marriages did not meet with parental approval.

³ The continued tie of Catholic intermarried respondents to the Church and to their families is indicated by the following facts: a) about 50 percent of the intermarried Catholics say that religion is important to them. For some, at least, that religion is Catholicism. b) only 13 percent of those who have relatives in New York do not see them as often as five or six times a year. Twenty-two percent of the group have no relatives in the

formed into actual strains.⁴

On the basis of this discussion it was possible to formulate some hypotheses which can be tested with the data we have. It should be noted that these hypotheses were formulated after completion of the explanations presented above. Their test, therefore, represents a partial test of the adequacy of our interpretation.

In general, it was expected that the dissatisfaction of Catholic intermarried respondents would be low: a) if they were immune to, or free from, parental and Church opposition, b) if they had not internalized Catholic behavior patterns, c) if they were now following Catholic behavior patterns. From the first two general propositions a series of directly testable hypotheses were formulated and evaluated.⁵ The data are presented below.

The Catholic intermarried respondents whose parents were intermarried and those who came from secular backgrounds were expected to have the lowest Present Dissatisfaction (PD) Scores. We believe that they are relatively free from external pressures and have internalized little of the Catholic pattern. The average score of this group was 1.00. The other ninety-nine

city. The majority of the Catholic intermarried respondents seem quite involved in the activities of their families as indicated by the number of relatives they see.

⁴ It may be of value to rephrase these interpretations in Blood's terminology. We are saying, essentially, that pseudo-intermarriages are not subject to unusual strains but true intermarriages are affected by such pressures. It is also implied that both kinds of interfaith marriage are represented in the group of Catholic intermarriages in considerable number.

⁵ The available data did not allow the formulation of hypotheses bearing upon the third proposition.

intermarried Catholics had a mean score of 1.60. The difference is significant at the .10 level. The first prediction is supported, therefore.

The group that was emancipated from family ties at time of marriage⁶ was probably second in immunity. Their mean score was 1.43, the mean score of the remaining seventy-one cases was 1.66. This difference is in the expected direction, but it is not significant.

We thought that an unhappy childhood might give the respondent some immunity to the pressures of which we have been speaking. The data indicate that this is not the case, however. Those with an unhappy childhood, i.e., a score of four or above on the Family Dissatisfaction Score, had a mean PD Score of 1.63. The mean score of the remaining fifty-two cases was about the same, 1.67.

Two additional tests of the interpretation come to mind. These, in contrast to the above, deal with the present situation of the respondent. We compared the PD Scores of those who are now Catholic and say that religion is very important to them, with the scores of those who are now Catholic but say religion is not important to them, and those who are no longer Catholic. It was thought that the first group would have the least immunity and the greatest internalization, and the third group the greatest immunity and the least internalization. We predicted that the average PD Score would be highest for the first group and decrease in each of the two others. The data do not support this prediction. The first group has the lowest rather than the

⁶This group included those who had been married previously, were married after thirty-five with no evidence of overdependence, or scored "0" on the Family Integration Score. Twenty-eight respondents were in this group.

highest score.(1.38) The second group does have a higher score than the third.(2.12 to 1.63) None of the differences are significant.

The second test involved a comparison of those who saw their relatives with those who did not. It would be expected that the former would have higher scores than the latter. This prediction is consistent with the data though the difference is not significant. The scores were 1.59 and 1.20 respectively.

These last findings indicate that a change is necessary in the original formulation. It seems that the pressures that come from a continued identification with the Catholic religion are of less importance than the pressures which come from continued association with relatives.

The reader may wonder why we have put forth the explanation that has been presented. In the past, those who have observed unhappiness or maladjustment in intermarriages have used the more parsimonious interpretation that the cause of the difficulty is the difference in background. That hypothesis would have led to the predictions we have just presented. The "difference yields difficulty" explanation would not be consistent with our data, however.

An hypothesis of this kind would lead to a prediction that the non-Catholic spouses in interfaith marriages would also show an excess of poor adjustment as compared with intramarried respondents of their religion. If the difference in background leads to difficulty in one case it should have the same effect for all religions. Our data indicate, however, that marriage type does not affect intermarried Protestants and Jews. As we will show, our explanation would have led to this prediction. The "difference" hypothesis would not have.

In the discussion of the Catholic group we noted that the opposition of Church and family was a potential source of strain for the Catholic who married outside of his faith. Without denying the universal condemnation of interfaith marriages by Protestant denominations, it seems proper to point out the qualitative difference that exists. In the Catholic Church opposition to interfaith marriages is an integral part of the doctrine; following naturally from the basic tenets of that religion. In Protestantism, on the other hand, the prohibition of intermarriage is not part of the basic belief system. It appears to this author to be something of an addendum. In addition, the spirit of individualism that is typical of the Protestant religions would tend to make interfaith marriage a matter of individual conscience. It would appear that the opposition of the Catholic Church is more productive of strain.

Similarly, we believe that the opposition of the parents is much less in the case of our Protestant intermarried respondents. This follows from the considerations mentioned immediately above as well as from the fact that these parents were less religious than were the Catholic parents.⁷ In sum, opposition from Protestant circles is less effective, less intense, and, therefore, less important as a source of strain than is the opposition that faces the Catholic who intermarries.

The second source of strain noted in the analysis of the Catholics was their failure to follow family patterns which were learned early in life. At first glance it would appear that this would be an even greater

⁷Twelve of the Protestant intermarried respondents came from secular backgrounds. A total of twenty-three reported that religion had no importance to their families, and another twenty-four had parents who were themselves intermarried.

strain on the Protestant who married a Catholic. It is he who often must agree to follow the Catholic way of life. Unfortunately, we have no indication of the number of intermarriages in our sample which are considered to be valid by the Catholic Church. An unknown number certainly occurred outside of the Church; and, therefore, the Protestant party did not have to subscribe to the ante-nuptial agreement. In some cases these agreements, if signed, are not being followed. For an unknown number of Protestants the signing and following of the ante-nuptial agreement represents a potential source of strain. We believe that this number is not large, however.

The final point made in the discussion of the Catholic group was that their failure to break their ties with Catholicism and family served to bring to fruition the potential strains discussed. In the case of Protestants the failure to break these ties is of less moment for the reasons discussed above. Therefore, the fact that the Protestants who intermarry are almost as closely tied to religion and the extended family as are the Catholics does not vitiate our argument.⁸ The Protestants are only a little more emancipated than the Catholics. The "need" for emancipation is not as great, however.

We are of the opinion that we have adequately demonstrated that our findings in regard to Protestants would have been expected on the basis of the interpretation that we have been presenting. The alternate hypothesis

⁸ Only eleven of the intermarried Protestants who have relatives in New York do not see them as often as five or six times a year. Another thirty-three have no relatives in New York. Though only twenty-six of the intermarried Protestants say religion has no importance to them; this group as a whole is somewhat less religious than the Catholic intermarriage group. Only a third of the Protestants say religion is very important in comparison to one-half of the Catholics.

based upon difference in background would have led to an incorrect prediction.

We will not devote much attention to the Jewish group, for our finding of no effect of intermarriage is not clear-cut, and it is based upon small samples. Further research on larger samples may very well prove us to be wrong. If the data are correct, however, the interpretation may be extended to cover this religious group also.

As before, the opposition of family and religion represents a potential source of strain for the intermarried Jew. In fact, this opposition is likely to be stronger than in the other two religions. However, the pressure is not effective. The intermarried Jews show greater estrangement from religion and family than do the other two intermarriage groups. Religion has no importance to 55 percent of them and one-third see none of their relatives. Even those who are in contact with their relatives are probably not very much affected by their opposition. The intermarried Jews are primarily of the upper class and they no longer identify with their relatives who are, in many cases, first generation Americans.

The failure to follow traditional Jewish patterns is also an important source of possible strain for the intermarried Jew, if he has internalized these patterns. We do not believe, however, that these patterns were internalized by this group. In general, the potential sources of strain for the intermarried Jew are great. Because of his breaking away they are not effective.

If our inferences are valid we have been able to explain all our findings with a single set of postulates. This would not have been possible if postulates based upon divergent backgrounds had been used. We have not,

however, been able to prove the validity of our explanation. The fact that it is based upon the data and did not precede it, effectively rules out the possibility of proof without additional data.

Concluding Considerations

Theoretical discussions are to be found throughout this dissertation, but they are concerned with a specific theory of interfaith marriage. We have made no attempt to extend our findings to more general theoretical concerns. The contribution that we can make to general theory is modest, but our data and discussions are relevant for some matters of general sociological interest.

The first point that comes to mind concerns the relevance of our findings for problems in the areas of interracial and interethnic marriages. We do not feel that our findings are directly applicable to these other forms of intermarriage, but we believe that a study of the variables we have considered would be fruitful. Our data may also be of some value as a source of hypotheses for questions relating to these marriages.

What are the implications of our study for general research in marital adjustment and marital outcome? It is believed that they would benefit from a greater concern with the effect of outside pressures just as our study did. This is not to imply that these factors have been ignored previously, or that they are more important than intracouple factors. We do believe, however, that they have not received sufficient attention and that they are of great value in cases in which it is necessary to explain differences between groups which apparently are not explicable by the usual intrafamily

factors. A more intensive consideration of these external variables might lead to an adequate explanation of the comparatively small correlation between the happiness of husbands and wives which was reported by Burgess and Wallin, for example.⁴

In addition to this small contribution to general theoretical concerns, our findings may be of some immediate practical value. There is a great desire on the part of many young people for information regarding the outcomes of intermarriages. Though much of our data does not go to the heart of their questions, they may find some guidance in this volume. We have provided some objective data that may be used in making decisions as to marital choice. A caution should be mentioned here. The data are based upon a sample from a highly urbanized area. Our findings have relevance, therefore, only for persons from such areas. This is particularly important because of the importance that outside pressures have taken in the explanations. In all probability, in a rural area or small town the pressures we have been considering would be more intense and more effective.

Another concluding consideration is the relation between our findings and the results of previous research. It will be recalled that there is contradictory evidence on many of the points that have been studied. In almost all cases the findings support the "majority" result, and in no instance do our data differ from well established previous findings. This fact is of considerable importance for our study. It gives support to the validity of the data on unmatched groups, and indicates that when we failed to find

⁴Ernest Burgess and Paul Wallin, "Predicting Adjustment in Marriage From Adjustment in Engagement," American Journal of Sociology, XLIX (1944), 330.

differences between matched groups it was probably not due to deficiencies in our study. In addition, it indicates that perhaps previous researchers would also have found little difference between the marriage types if they had used matched groups.

As is traditional, we will end this thesis with suggestions for further study. Our research, as is often the case, brings up many more new questions than it answers. We will not attempt to suggest specific research designs; we will limit ourselves to mentioning general topics that might be profitably investigated.

1) Since this is the first research of its kind in this area, the study must be replicated on similar and different populations. This is, of course, necessary for all pioneer studies, but it is of particular importance in a case such as this where most of the theoretical materials are post-facto explanations.

2) In addition to replication, the study is in need of extension. We have been able to deal only with a limited number of premarital and post-marital factors. Application of our methodology to additional variables is needed. Of particular interest to the present author would be a comparison of divorce rates of matched samples differing only on marriage type.

3) We have suggested that the variables we have considered will be of value in answering similar questions regarding interethnic and interracial marriages. It remains for further research to indicate whether this is so.

4) Throughout the thesis we have presented our data for each religion separately. This allowed us to discover, at several points, that a given variable had a differential influence in the different religions. Undoubtedly

the control of other variables will reveal similar interactions. We might suggest sex, socio-economic status, and conversion-non-conversion as likely variables for such investigations.

5. There is an implication in much of our material that the term interfaith marriage includes a heterogeneous group of marriages. We also see the implication that certain of these intermarriages are as likely to succeed as intramarriages but that some carry an extra burden. There seems to be a need for a specification of the individual characteristics and social situations that lead to happiness and unhappiness in interfaith marriages. Eventually, perhaps, it will be possible to devise an adequate prediction scale for happiness or adjustment in intermarriage.

6. Our final point would be a general invitation to test the implications of our interpretations. We believe there are many researchable problems in our theoretical and speculative materials. Because of the lack of data we were unable to deal with these problems in this study.

APPENDIX

Analysis of Variance of Fertility

In an attempt to unravel the complex relationships between inter-faith marriage and fertility we undertook an analysis of variance. The independent variables considered were marriage type, education, and age at marriage. The data and analysis are presented in Table A-1.

TABLE A-1

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: MARRIAGE TYPE, AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE, EDUCATION, AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN. (FIRST MARRIAGES ONLY)

Marriage Type*	Age	Education							
		Grammar		High Sch.		College		Total	
		Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N
C-C	Under 30	2.27	153	1.60	162	.79	24	1.85	339
	Over 30	1.06	43	1.20	20	1.17	6	1.12	69
		2.01	196	1.56	182	.37	30	1.72	408
P-P	Under 30	1.55	41	1.61	56	1.05	55	1.37	162
	Over 30	.78	16	.47	19	.68	22	.63	57
		1.33	57	1.32	75	.95	87	1.18	219
P-C	Under 30	1.48	52	1.51	61	1.00	24	1.39	137
	Over 30	.57	14	0.00	10	1.22	9	.58	33
		1.29	66	1.27	71	1.06	33	1.24	170
Education		1.74	319	1.44	328	.96	150	1.47	797
Age		Under 30		1.63	638				
		Over 30		.83	159				
				1.47	797				

TABLE A-1 --Continued

Source	S of S	d.f.	Mean Sq.	F	P
Total	1759	796			
Between	216	17	12.7	6.1	
Within	1543	779	2.0		
Age	69.0	1	69.0	34.5	<.02
Marriage Type	23.6	2	11.8	5.9	<.02
Education	59.3	2	29.6	14.8	<.02
<u>Interactions</u>					
Educ. & Marriage Type	18.9	4	4.7	2.4	<.10
Age & Marriage Type	3.2	2	1.6	1.2	>.10
Educ. & Age	21.3	2	10.6	5.3	<.02
Age, Educ. & Marriage Type	20.7	4	5.2	2.6	<.10

*In this instance we did not subdivide the marriage type variable as we have been doing. Because of the small N involved, we eliminated all marriages involving a Jew or an Eastern Orthodox respondent. We limited the analysis to cases involving Protestants and Catholics. In addition, we combined the Catholic intermarried and the Protestant intermarried to make a Protestant-Catholic group. These procedures allowed us to deal with fewer groups without losing much in the way of information.

The comparison of marriage types yielded a significant "F"¹. It is very unlikely that the differences are caused by chance. The "deviation"

¹ The significant differences obtained from the comparisons on the other two variables will not be discussed since they are not relevant to the basic concern of this research.

of the Catholic group is primarily responsible for the difference. This group has high fertility in comparison with Protestant-Protestant and Protestant-Catholic marriages. The latter two have equal fertility.

Our main purpose in doing an analysis of variance was to get at the interaction between the variables being considered. The question asked was, "Does the relationship between two, or more, variables differ in the different classes of a third variable?" The first interaction dealt with is that of education and marriage type. It is significant. This indicates that marriage type does not have a constant relationship to number of children; the relationship varies by educational group.

There appear to be two relationships. In the grammar school group the Catholic-Catholic marriages have high fertility, and the other two groups have rates which are equal and significantly lower (2.01, 1.33, 1.29). The second pattern is demonstrated in both the high school and college groups. Here we find no significant differences; the fertility of all three marriage types appears to be equal (1.56, 1.32, 1.27; .87, .95, 1.06). All of these differences could have occurred by chance.

There is another way of looking at this interaction which is also related to our primary interest. In the Catholic intramarriage group we find significant differences between the three educational groups (2.01, 1.56, .87). In the Protestant-Protestant group the only differences which approach significance are those between the college group and the other two (1.33, 1.32, .95; P's are approximately .10). In the interfaith marriages none of the differences between educational groups are significant (1.29, 1.27, 1.06).

The interaction between age and marriage type is not significant. The relationship between marriage types is the same in both age groups. In the

under thirty group the Catholic intramarriages show the highest fertility, and the other two groups are approximately equal (1.85, 1.37, 1.39). For those over thirty at marriage the whole scale is shifted downward, but the same relationship holds (1.12, .63, .58).

The third interaction, though significant, will not concern us as it does not involve marriage type.

We now turn to the second order interaction which is also significant. This indicates that the relationship between the marriage types is different in the various categories of the other two variables. The following relationships are shown:

1. The Catholic marriages have higher fertility than the other two groups, which have equal fertility, in the categories: a) grammar school educated, married before thirty, b) grammar school educated, married after thirty,

2. All marriage types have essentially equal fertility in the categories: a) high school educated, married before thirty, b) college educated, married before thirty.

3. The Catholic marriages have higher fertility than the Protestants, who in turn are higher than the intermarriages, in the category: a) high school educated, married after thirty.

4. The N's are too small to be meaningful in the category: a) college educated, married after thirty.

It is perhaps difficult to comprehend the meaning of these findings when the data are presented in so much detail. We shall therefore, as a prelude to an attempt to interpret the findings, reduce the data to a small number of propositions. These propositions and the evidence supporting and denying them follow:

1. The fertility patterns of the Protestant-Protestant group and the Protestant-Catholic group, and their subgroups, are the same.

A. Supporting evidence

- a) Comparison of total marriage groups.
- b) Comparison of marriage groups within age groups.
- c) Comparison of marriage groups within education groups.
- d) Comparison of marriage groups with education and age held constant. (Except for those who married after thirty and had a high school education. In this case $P = .10$, but the N's are only nineteen and ten)
- e) Comparison of age groups within marriage groups.
- f) Comparison of age groups with education and marriage type controlled (high school and grammar school only).
- g) Comparison of education groups with age and marriage type controlled (under thirty only).

B. Negative evidence

- a) Comparison of education groups within marriage groups. (In the Protestant intramarriage group the college educated respondents have significantly lower fertility than the two other groups. The difference barely attains the .10 level, however. In the intermarriage group the college group though lower in fertility than the other two is not significantly so. The trend is the same in both marriage types, but the difference in one case attains an acceptable level of significance while in the other it does not)

2. Except for instances in which an age comparison is involved, the Catholic intramarriage group and its subgroups differ from the other groups in their fertility patterns.

A. Supporting evidence

- a) Comparison of total marriage groups.
- b) Comparison of marriage groups within grammar school groups.

c) Comparison of education groups within marriage groups.

B. Negative evidence

a) Comparison of marriage groups within high school and college groups. There are no significant differences between the marriage groups in the high school and college groups.

These two statements sum up the important information that is obtainable from the analysis. We are led to the following statements in explanation.²

1. A social category will show higher fertility if its contraceptive techniques are less effective.

2. A social category will show higher fertility if it holds attitudes opposing the use of birth control on moral or "esthetic" grounds.

3. A social category will show higher fertility if it holds traditional attitudes concerning the family.

4. A social category will show higher fertility if it has low aspirations for social mobility.

5. A social category will show higher fertility if it has greater economic security (or if children represent an economic asset).

Following the model provided by Lipset, et.al., the next step is to state the differences between social groups on these factors.

1. Social factors affecting effectiveness of contraceptive techniques.

²Our method of explanation parallels that used by Lipset, et.al. in their analysis of voting behavior. See Seymour M. Lipset, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Allen H. Barton, and Juan Linz, "The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behavior." in Gardner Lindzey, ed., Handbook of Social Psychology, V.II, (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 1124-1175.

a) Education - The attempts at contraception of the highly educated are more effective than are those of the less educated.

b) Religion - The contraceptive practices of Protestants are more effective than are those of the Catholics. Protestant-Catholic marriages fall somewhere in between.

2. Social factors affecting attitudes toward the use of contraceptives.

a) Religion - Protestants are less likely to hold attitudes opposing the use of contraception than are Catholics. Protestant-Catholic marriages are between the others in this respect.

b) Religiosity - Highly religious groups are more likely to hold attitudes opposing the use of contraceptives than are less religious groups.

c) Education - Persons with much education are less likely to hold attitudes opposing the use of contraceptives than are persons with little education.

3. Social factors affecting the holding of traditional attitudes.

a) Religiosity - Highly religious groups are more likely to hold traditional attitudes regarding the family than are less religious groups.

b) Religion - Catholics are more likely to hold traditional attitudes than are Protestants.

c) Education - The highly educated are less likely to hold traditional attitudes than are those with little education.

4. Social factors affecting mobility aspirations.

a) Education - The highly educated have greater aspirations for social mobility than do those with less education.

b) Religion - Catholics have less aspiration for social mobility than do Protestants. Those in Protestant-Catholic marriages are somewhere in between.

5. Social factors affecting economic security.

a) Education - Those with more education have greater economic security than those with less.

b) Religion - Catholics have less economic security than Protestants.

These points and subpoints make up our explanation of the differences in fertility that have been observed. How good an explanation is it? A tentative answer to this question may be formulated on the basis of a consideration of predictions based upon the five main points. Would we have expected our results if our expectations were based upon these statements?

We made many of the comparisons between paired groups that were possible from these data. In general the results were satisfactory; there was a rather high proportion of correct predictions. In several of the incorrect predictions the direction of the difference was correctly stated, but we erred in stating that there would be a significant difference where the difference was not significant, or vice versa. A fairly large source of error lay in the fact that our scheme led to predictions of differences in the college group where none existed. Despite these difficulties and inaccuracies, we feel fairly confident that we have isolated a large part of the relevant material.

We will not present the predictions, for we view this material as only a rough test of the adequacy of the explanation. The reasons for this are several : a) In too many instances we did not have the information we needed. b) It is quite clear that a simple summatory process of "pushes" from these five variables will not accurately predict differences in fertility. We achieved the level of success that we did because we predicted a

significant difference only when the groups differed on several of the factors. We believe that a more refined scoring system would have yielded even greater success. c) Some of the N's are too small to provide an adequate test of the predictions.

In sum, we have reason to believe that our explanation of the differences in fertility that were observed is an adequate one. Though there are inaccuracies, it is felt that these are caused, in part, by defects outside of the explanatory postulates themselves.

We will now consider the effect of the age at marriage variable. The previously noted trends are seen even more clearly when the analysis is limited to those married before thirty. Our data do not adequately show the effect of marriage after thirty because some of the N's are too small. There does appear to be a general lessening of fertility in groups married after thirty. Though the decrease is not equal in all cases, the differences are not great enough to substantially alter the trends described above.

In the over thirty groups, Catholic marriages generally have greater fertility than do comparable marriages in the other marriage types. In the grammar school group the fertility of Protestant-Protestant and Protestant-Catholic marriages are the same in the over thirty group. In the other two education groups the relationships are not clear because of the small N. It seems appropriate, therefore, to limit our conclusion to the statement: marriage after thirty does not change the relationship between Catholic intramarriages and the other two marriage groups.

There appears to be a good probability that the five factors discussed above will shed light on the differential fertility of groups mar-

ried after thirty as well as groups married before this age. The validity of the first part of the statement must remain in doubt until additional data are gathered, however.

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Professional Employment	Research Assistant, Indiana University, Summers, 1954, 1955. Teaching Associate, Indiana University, 1955. Assistant Statistician, Cornell Medical College, 1955-1956. Instructor, University of Connecticut, 1956 to date.
Honors	University Fellowships, Indiana University, 1952-1955. Honorary Sociological Society.
Professional Societies	American Sociological Society National Council on Family Relations American Association of University Professors